The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXVII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1928 No. 3300

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 307
EDITORIALS:
Mr. Hoover's Misstatements 310
The Protestant Menace 311
An American Resume 311
The Woman's Party and Mr. Hoover 312
IT SEEMS TO HEYWOOD BROUN. By Heywood Broun 313
WILL ROGERS, THE BUNKLESS CANDIDATE. By Dorothy Van Doren 314
ELECTRIC RATES NEED READJUSTMENT. By Edgar J. Kates 316
BOMBING LONDON. By Lee Simonson 318
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 319
CORRESPONDENCE 319
BOOKS AND PLAYS:
Two Poems. By S. Bert Cooksley 321
Jesus for the Rationalist. By William Seagle 321
England's Holy War. By Keith Hutchison 322
Journalism From Russia. By Norah Meade 322
Books in Brief 324
Drama: Murder With Music. By Joseph Wood Krutch 327
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
Hindu Farmers at Bay. By N. B. Parulekar 329

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, EDITOR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

ARTHUR WARNER

DOROTHY VAN DOREN PAUL BLANSHARD

DRAMATIC EDITOR JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LITERARY EDITOR FREDA KIRCHWEY

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN A. HOBSON HEYWOOD BROUN H. L. MENCKEN

NORMAN THOMAS LEWIS S. GANNETT CARL VAN DOREN

MARK VAN DOREN LUDWIG LEWISOHN

DAVID BOEHM, ADVERTISING MANAGER

Address all editorial communications to the "Managing Editor."

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50; and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising, Miss Gertrude M. Cross, 34, Clifton Gardens, W. 9, London, England.

THE NATION is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature.*

AL SMITH HAS TAKEN THE OFFENSIVE, and it will be strange if Mr. Hoover does not find himself forced to reply. At Denver and at Helena the New Yorker used Herbert Hoover's own words as text and preached his typical sermons from them. At Denver he demanded to know where the silent candidate stands on water power. His own definition brought commendation even from Senator Norris of Nebraska. He showed the close links between the Coolidge Administration, and even Mr. Hoover's own department, and the public-utilities propaganda which has sought to rob the people of their water-power heritage. At Helena he retold the old, but still pertinent story of Republican corruption. He recited the shameful story of Secretary Fall and Teapot Dome, of Hoover's own letter indorsing Mr. Fall, and asked dramatically:

> Is the record, the real record of the last seven and a half years, known to the Republican candidate for President of the United States? . . . He sat in the Cabinet of the President while all this was going on, and you can search the record from one end to the other, you can dive into it in its minutest details, and you will fail to find a single word of condemnation. On the contrary, in his speech of acceptance, let us see what he said about the last seven and a half years:
>
> "The record of these seven and a half years constitutes a period of rare courage in leadership and constructive action." . . . Does Mr. Hoover want the people of the United States to believe that he looks over that record with satisfaction?

THE SORRIEST FIGURE IN THIS CAMPAIGN is not Heflin or Straton, but William E. Borah. It was bad enough for a man of his ideals and standards to sink to nominating Charles Curtis at the Kansas City Convention, but for him to go about the country proclaiming Hoover as a "miracle-man" and generally exalting him to the skies is decidedly too thick. Every newspaperman in Washington knows that there has been no severer critic of Mr. Hoover than Senator Borah. The Senator has just refused to explain why he said in 1918 that Hoover was unworthy of being trusted with $100,000,000 and now praises him without stint. He sought to explain his charge of January 18, 1919, that "vast monopolies directed and controlled the Food Administration. Hoover permitted them to fix their own prices" by saying that "Mr. Hoover contended he was doing the best possible under the circumstances. I contended to the contrary, but I never questioned his honesty or patriotism." What stuff! A man who permitted vast monopolies to direct and control the food prices the American people had to pay must have been a knave and a traitor. You cannot let food barons rob the American people and still be honest and patriotic. That is a mere juggling with words. To be trusted and be believed now, Mr. Borah must withdraw and apologize for those words of his that fill so much space in the *Congressional Record.* The plain fact seems to be that Mr. Borah is out to be "good" and a "regular." He can no longer be carried on the roster of independents and Progressives. Doubtless we shall hear in a year or so of a boom for him for a regular nomination for the Presidency.

"THERE IS NO MEASURE on our statute books today that represents a more fundamental, sound, and important step in true progress than does this new charter of American Labor." Thus Herbert Hoover in his speech at Newark defended one of the most selfish and reactionary bits of legislation ever enacted in the United States—the closing of our doors to aspiring immigrants, the ending of a glorious chapter in enlightened humanitarianism, the yielding of the politicians to a demand of union labor which is on a par with its former efforts to limit the number of apprentices and to oppose the use of machinery. Quite rightly Mr. Hoover links this "new charter" with the protective system. He wants not only to exclude all foreign goods but all foreigners. For the farmers he holds out the hope of excluding foreign foodstuffs. Indeed, he assails the Democrats because they want, he says, to "let in a flood of foreign goods, destroy employment, and lower wages." Thus he outdoes Joe Cannon and Mark Hanna and William McKinley. Their fetish was at first to protect infant American industries and then only industries whose goods could be undersold. It never occurred to them to tax foreign foodstuffs or to protect the American workingman by abandoning the historic American ideal that this country should be an asylum for the oppressed and the ambitious from abroad. Mr. Hoover is for a country surrounded by a Chinese wall. There is only one further step he could take—non-intercourse, the stopping of the arrival of all ships from the rest of the world.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOW, THE DISHONESTY OF ALL THIS lies in the fact that Herbert Hoover knows that this policy not only hits directly at our foreign trade, and invites foreign reprisals and international bitterness, but also makes impossible the payment of the vast sums owed us by the foreign governments we assisted during the war. He knows that every one of our large industries produces more than it can sell at home and that they cannot sell abroad without being paid, not in cash but in goods. William McKinley, theretofore the highest priest of protection, declared, just before his assassination, "If we will not buy, we cannot sell." Even he felt that brakes must be applied to the protective juggernaut. Mr. Hoover wants none. Yet he is supposedly the great internationalist, the one man who really understands foreign affairs, who knows how to deal with foreign problems, and is always actuated by humanitarianism. Governor Smith properly countered Mr. Hoover's economic nonsense when he declared in reply that the tariff is not the solution of the farmer's troubles. Obviously not. If the tariff were raised so high that not a pound of anything eatable could cross our frontiers it would in no wise settle the question of our food surplus. Governor Smith also made most effective use of a bit of sententious buncombe uttered by Mr. Hoover in 1925 that "the fundamental need is a balancing of agricultural production to our home demand." What Hoover meant then apparently was that the farmers must be so controlled by the government that they would not raise one pound more of anything than the country could consume!

THE DISCLOSURE IN THE HEARST PRESS—and this time the Hearst document turns out to be genuine—of the essential terms of the Franco-British naval understanding makes it clear that the naval officers of the two countries were in fact seeking to outmaneuver the United States. In return for French support of the British claim for an unlimited number of small cruisers—the claim which wrecked the Geneva "disarmament" conference—Britain accepts the French claim for an unlimited number of small submarines. Doubtless the British have as sound a right to urge their position as the American admirals to demand that Congress authorize a billion-dollar naval program (incidentally, there is not the slightest doubt that their claim will lead to a new big-navy howl in this country), but the secrecy with which the negotiations were surrounded can hardly be much more pleasing to the British public than to the American. At first, there was denial of the existence of the pact; then, when the rumors bloated it into a new Dual Alliance, it was asserted that it referred merely to technical details; then came an announcement that it was so harmless that it would be published; then it was kept secret until a Hearst correspondent persuaded some French diplomat to show him a copy of an official memorandum describing it. This was, indeed, a flagrant example of the evil of secret diplomacy. The French and British positions were well known prior to the agreement, but the British Foreign Office, by attempting secretly, in advance of a general international conference, to pledge the French to support their position against the American, has poisoned the international atmosphere.

WE NEED A DWIGHT MORROW FOR COLOMBIA, and probably we shall need one in Venezuela too. Venezuela, in the last three years, has jumped from the bottom of the list of the world's oil-producing countries to a position where she vies with Russia for second place and is shipping more oil than Mexico. Colombia, which in 1924 exported 447,744 barrels of petroleum, sent out 15,760,797 barrels in 1927, and if she had more pipelines to the sea she would pump more oil through them. Of course, the oil companies and concessionaires are becoming involved in disputes with the Colombian Government, and, of course, the American concessionaires are dragging the State Department into their disputes. Ludwell Denny told a part of the history of the Barco Concession, about which the latest dispute centers, in *The Nation* for July 11, last. The Colombian Government has since issued a second decree upholding the cancelation of the 5,000,000-acre concession, in which the Mellon family, through the Gulf Oil Company, is heavily interested; the concessionaire, through the Ameriman Minister at Bogota, has asked to file a further memorial in behalf of its titles; the Colombian Government has replied, sharply warning the United States to keep out of Colombia's domestic affairs; and the State Department has retorted, vigorously affirming its right to intervene in behalf of property interests. The net result is more anti-Yankee sentiment in Latin America and the beginning of another prolonged diplomatic dispute. Ambassador Morrow seems to have found it possible to persuade the Mexicans that even a Yankee diplomat can be a gentleman; why not put someone of his character in charge in Washington?

THE APPARENTLY UNANIMOUS STAND of the Mexican Congress for Emilio Portes Gil, newly appointed Secretary of State, as the next president of Mexico, has an obvious logic behind it. Shortly after the murder of Obregon, Portes Gil, former governor of Tamaulipas and a well-known lawyer, was given the cabinet position which according to the Mexican constitution ranks after the presidency. Almost simultaneously Dr. Puig Caussaranc, the new Minister of Industry, speaking for Calles, declared that "the law shall be the next president"; Calles himself corroborated this in his presidential message, reaffirming his stand against reelection and stating that "the time for military chieftainship is past." The former Obregonista bloc in the Chamber of Deputies split up; the factions which had been supporting various generals for the presidency dissolved; and the generals themselves, together with most of the lesser military chieftains, declared themselves definitely "with and behind the president" and for a civilian. Portes Gil, almost a dark horse, became the only possible candidate. He has a solid record of agrarian reform in the northern part of Mexico behind him. On loans of the National Agrarian Bank agricultural communities were organized, machinery was bought, and agricultural experts were detailed to give intense assistance to the small farmers. Portes Gil is somewhat of the Calles stamp.

> Everyone of you has seen policemen inflict corporal punishment on prisoners. Everyone has seen brother officers intoxicated and has not reported it.

THIS IS NOT A POLICE CONFESSION extorted by some belligerent district attorney uncovering police corruption in Philadelphia or Chicago or elsewhere. It is the calm and deliberate statement of Patrolman R. J. Allen of the Third Precinct in the city of Washington, D. C., at a mass meeting of policemen held in an attempt by the men themselves to discover what is wrong with the department,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and how the wrongs are to be remedied. It is not surprising that the Washington *Herald* declares that most of his comrades who heard him considered that he was "too painfully frank." Naturally, for he convicted them to their faces of constantly committing crimes. Patrolman Allen went on to say that having been present on one occasion at the infliction of corporal punishment on prisoners he attempted to interfere and was reported to his superiors for his trouble. The lieutenant on duty told him to mind his own business. It is time that somebody in Washington acted, for recent figures show that more than one-third of the police of the nation's capital have been brought up before a higher authority on one or more charges within the last three years. Several men are up for trial now on charges of drunkenness, reckless driving, the uncalled-for shooting of a colored man, etc. Yet this story is one than can be told about almost every police force in this country. No wonder there is crime in America.

CALIFORNIA'S BRIGHT PROSPERITY is dimmed a trifle by data recently come to light. In Los Angeles (which is planning to have a population of some several millions of people by 1950 or thereabouts) 31,000 citizens are registered with the Emergency Employment Bureau whose advisory committee is headed by Mayor George E. Cryer. According to a letter recently sent out by the bureau some of these are in "destitute circumstances" while others, home-owners, are in danger of losing their homes through lack of employment. The bureau appeals for aid, emphasizing the fact that the citizens of Los Angeles, by helping the 31,000 out of work to secure employment, will really be helping themselves "by making possible the elimination of soup kitchens, (with all the attendant detrimental publicity in the Eastern papers)." From the grape-growers of California comes another note of distress. Since prohibition they have increased their total yearly production somewhat more than 200 per cent; since 1920 the annual carload shipments out of California have more than trebled. This year the "juice," or wine, variety will come close to the unprecedented figure of 500,000 tons. But this is more than can be profitably sold and distributed, and the California Vineyardists Association has been organized with the aid and support of such big-business leaders as Henry M. Robinson, Paul Shoup, and Herbert Fleishhacker. Of course, this has nothing to do with the prohibition issue in the election. Californians will vote Dry with Hoover and refuse to admit that the grapes will be used for anything but grape jelly.

ON THE COAST of old Santo Domingo where Christopher Columbus and his sailors landed in their first exploration of the West Indies all the nations of the Americas are uniting to build a Columbus Memorial Lighthouse. The project, which is sponsored by the Pan-American Union, has been planned with imagination and a genuine regard for artistic values. No political committee will handle the designing of the memorial but the choice will be left to architects from every nation of the world who care to compete for the grand prize offered for the best design. The international jury of architects, chosen by the competitors themselves, will award prizes of $2,000 each for the best ten designs submitted in a preliminary competition, and then will set the ten winners competing against one another to perfect the final design. The ultimate winner will receive at least $10,000, and his earnings may run to several hundred thousand. Towering perhaps six hundred feet over a memorial park of 2,500 acres, the great lighthouse of sea and air will overlook the island which Christopher Columbus loved more than any other place in the world. It will be more than a monument to Columbus. It will be a symbol of the potential friendship of all American peoples and a reminder that beauty is a more worthy goal of international competition than the range of elevated guns.

A NEW NAPOLEON OF THE PRESS announced himself to the world the other day in full-page advertisements in New York newspapers. The advertisements, bearing the cryptic title "Down the Pilot's Ladder," expounded the career and ambitions of Mr. Albert J. Kobler, lately the guiding genius of the *American Weekly*, the Sunday magazine of Mr. Hearst's many newspapers. Mr. Kobler, who admits he made the *American Weekly* what it is today—"with 25,000,000 readers and advertising $16,000 per page, it has smashed every circulation and rate record"—has a soul that clamors for greater conquests. He says so himself:

> But neither my temperament nor career can be satisfied with a situation that hereafter demands so little personal action. My energies and imagination must have fuller play.
>
> And Mr. Hearst has been so lavish, so generous and appreciative, that my ambition can at last afford to execute a project cherished and deferred for twenty-five years.
>
> And so I have tendered my resignation, turned the ship back to its captain. With this statement I climb down the pilot's ladder to an argosy of dreams.
>
> I am now the proprietor of a New York Daily. . . .
>
> I only bespeak the patience of friends and public for time to "Build my Rome."
>
> Within a few days I will formally announce where I have hung my hat and flung my flag.

The argosy of dreams on which Mr. Kobler has hung his hat and from which he has flung his flag and on which he will build his Rome is none other than the New York *Daily Mirror*, least successful of the city's three tabloid dailies.

IT IS WITH KEEN REGRET that *The Nation* announces the retirement from its active editorial staff, with this issue, of Lewis S. Gannett and Mark Van Doren. For nine years Mr. Gannett has served this weekly with a devotion and ability that make the loss of his gifted and charming pen a serious one, especially in the field of foreign happenings and politics. Of this his articles on the new China, contributed from that country in 1926, afford only one, if a striking, illustration. Mark Van Doren's work as literary editor has spoken for itself. The third of his family to hold this position, Mr. Van Doren leaves to devote himself to other activities in which lie his chief interests, notably the field of poetry. It will, we hope, always be a function of *The Nation*, as long as it exists, to serve as a training school for liberal writers and editors to prepare them for leadership in other fields. It cannot, however, be expected to feel else than a pang of sorrow when it must lose such collaborators as Messrs. Gannett and Van Doren. Fortunately for our readers, their transfer to the board of contributing editors assures *The Nation* of at least occasional contributions from them. As a result of these changes Freda Kirchwey becomes literary editor and Paul Blanshard, of the League for Industrial Democracy, becomes an associate editor.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Hoover's Misstatements

IN his Newark speech on labor and prosperity Herbert Hoover played the role of a political magician, showing his audience the empty Democratic hat of 1921, and then pulling out the rabbit of Republican prosperity. Unfortunately his statistical springs were not well oiled, and the false bottom of the hat was plainly evident. How clumsy Mr. Hoover was in his legerdemain may be seen by placing in one column some of his important claims and in another column certain contradictory facts.

WHAT HOOVER SAID:

An accurate survey of the Department of Labor showed that even including the usual winter seasonal unemployment, about 1,800,000 employees were out of work as contrasted with five to six million in 1921.

When we assumed direction of the government in 1921 there were five to six million unemployed upon our streets. . . . The Republican Administration at once undertook to find relief to this situation. At once a nation-wide employment conference was called. It was made up of representatives of both employers and employees. I had the honor to be chairman of that conference. . . . Within a year we restored these five million workers to employment.

THE FACTS:

Ethelbert Stewart, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, reported on March 24, 1928 (see *Monthly Labor Review* of the Department of Labor for April, 1928, page 26), an estimate of the *shrinkage* in the number of employed workers between 1925 and 1928 as 1,800,000. *The figure was not an estimate of unemployment;* no account was taken of the number of unemployed in 1925. The Labor Bureau, Inc., estimates the unemployment this year at about 4,000,000.

The foreword to the report of the President's Conference on Unemployment, signed by Herbert Hoover, refers to "four to five million unemployed as a result of the business depression of that year." This conference met in September, 1921. It appointed a subcommittee of experts to report on the number of unemployed. Their estimate, as contained in the official record, says: "It is highly improbable, taking all occupations into account, that more than 3,500,000 persons now remain unemployed in the sense that they desire and are unable to find work suited to their capacities."

The Republicans assumed office in March, 1921, but President Harding did not call an unemployment conference until six months later, September, 1921. As to Mr. Hoover's claim that they had restored five million workers to employment within a year, compare the employment figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the year after the President's Conference with the estimates of unemployment made in the official report of that conference. The *Monthly Labor Review* for December, 1922, gives the estimated growth in employment from October, 1921, to October, 1922; this comparison shows that 1,500,000 would be a generous estimate of the number restored to employment during that year.

Despite the great after-war slump they [real wages] have risen until today they are over 50 per cent greater than before the war.

The best figures which we have concerning variations in real wages are those of Paul Douglas of the University of Chicago, published in the *American Economic Review* for March, 1926. Mr. Douglas estimates that there was an increase in real annual earnings from 1913 to 1924 of about 15 per cent. Since 1924 real earnings have increased very little.

Jurgen Kuczynski and Marguerite Steinfeld, in Research Series, No. 6, of the American Federation of Labor, after an exhaustive analysis based on government figures, estimate the increase in real wages of *manufacturing* workers from 1924 to 1927 at less than 1 per cent, from 1914 to 1927 at 35 per cent.

Some of the slips Mr. Hoover made are unimportant blunders of detail which any busy man might make, but taken as a whole they reveal how Hoover the Republican is corrupting Hoover the engineer. His least excusable error, the underestimate of our unemployment, was borrowed from another Cabinet member, James J. Davis, who used his position as Secretary of Labor last Spring to distort the report of his own Commissioner of Labor Statistics and to send out a false statement concerning the volume of unemployment. The Davis falsehood was immediately revealed in the press and widely commented upon, so Mr. Hoover can scarcely avoid responsibility for repeating it at this time.

When he talks about efficiency Mr. Hoover is on familiar ground. He wades into his subject with a zest and a command of detail that are most refreshing after the limp platitudes of Mr. Coolidge. Between the lines can be read his philosophy of economic life. He is not disturbed by the inequalities in the distribution of wealth in the United States, the greatest inequalities in the history of the world. The Department of Commerce under Herbert Hoover's guidance has cooperated with manufacturing industries to reduce internal inefficiencies whenever the owners desired such cooperation, but when public interest has clashed with the interests of the owners Mr. Hoover has avoided the challenge. Notably in coal and electric power, where a comprehensive program of public ownership and coordination is required to protect the consumer, Mr. Hoover chose to run away from his opportunity because the owners preferred the old way.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED.

The Protestant Menace

"THERE are two thousand pastors here. You have in your churches more than 600,000 members of the Methodist church in Ohio alone. That is enough to swing the election. The 600,000 have friends in other States. Write to them." Those were Mabel Walker Willebrandt's words to the Ohio conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and after her address the conference voted, unanimously, to support Herbert Hoover for President.

"There can be no question as to the plain duty of all Presbyterian church members," Rev. Dr. Hugh K. Walker, moderator of the General Assembly of that church, writes in its official organ. "The plain duty of every churchman is to work and pray and vote for the election of Herbert Hoover."

Al Smith was right in what he said at Oklahoma City. It would hardly be possible to persuade any body of Roman Catholics in this country to adopt, by a vote even approaching unanimity, a resolution supporting any candidate for public office. For one thing, they would be afraid to do so. They would be too well aware that such action would expose them to the charge that the church was in politics, that the Catholics were attempting to control the state. And they would be right in so fearing. Any such action by a body of Roman Catholics would bring out a flood of anti-Catholic feeling which would overwhelmingly defeat the candidate indorsed.

But the Methodists indorse Hoover with impunity, and the Presbyterian leader asks his fellow churchmen to vote en bloc. Protestants seek to throw the Protestant vote to Hoover, and have no fear that they will be accused of destroying the balance of church and state. We have become accustomed to the Protestant church in politics; it is so familiar that we have ceased to fear it. Yet the simple fact, due to no special virtue in either of the historic religious groups, is that if there is a church menace in this country it is a Protestant rather than a Catholic menace, simply because the tradition of this country is Protestant and the bulk of its population is Protestant. The danger of religious oppression always comes from the majority church. Catholics, despite a very different attitude in countries predominantly Catholic, have in this country loyally supported the Constitutional principle of separation of church and state, well knowing that the unofficial state church of this country was Protestant. On the other hand, in Arkansas Protestant Fundamentalists, balked in their effort to force an anti-evolution law through the Legislature, have put the question before the voters in the form of a State referendum. What happened in Tennessee is still a familiar and painful story, and for Tennessee's monkey law and the Dayton trial organized forces of the Protestant church are directly responsible.

We are not of those who would have the churches draw a sharp line between politics and religion. The man who takes his religion seriously inevitably finds it affecting the issues of his daily life and his code of public conduct. If religion and peace are identified in his mind, a minister must indeed voice his Christian protest against war. Prohibition is quite properly claimed as an achievement of Protestant church effort, and we are not among those who feel that churchmen should have left the issue alone. But when the churches as such attempt to put sectarian legislation upon the statute-books, as in Arkansas, or when they attempt to bar members of rival creeds from public office, they go too far, and a real church menace appears upon the horizon. We do not want sectarian blocs in America.

Mrs. Willebrandt, the skilled politician who was Harry Daugherty's right hand, knew only too well the depth of the prejudice to which she could appeal. She knew, as every politician knows, the bitterness of the klannish spirit so deep-rooted in many evangelical church groups. Even *The Nation's* mail reflects the backwash of its appeal. "The progress and advancement of the world depends upon Protestant Christianity," writes a Louisiana reader. From Kansas City comes a passionate appeal to get our "*Protestant* [twice underscored] friends and relatives to vote," and the threat that if "Protestants do not wake up and do their duty by a united vote, we are going to have a Roman Catholic for President." From Idaho comes an hysterical accusation (no sillier than hundreds of others) that Rome inspired the recent race riots for reasons which the anonymous writer does not make entirely clear. A Jewish Republican in Canada writes that her vacation conversations with anti-Catholic Southerners have convinced her that Jews should vote for Al Smith in self-protection against the menace of religious hate.

Anti-Catholicism has thus made religion an issue in American politics. We recognize the right of individuals to believe that the Catholic church threatens American institutions, and to argue the question, as Mr. Marshall and Governor Smith argued it a year ago. But it seems to us beyond argument that Mrs. Willebrandt and the Stratons and Heflins are attempting to make the Protestant churches dominant forces in American politics. This transcends the issue of prohibition. No political issue should be set beyond argument, crystallized as a part of the dogma of a church. When a minority sect sets up binding doctrines, and bids its members vote accordingly, it may be negligible; but when the dominant church group of the nation does that, the historic separation between church and state has ceased to function.

No, we are not alarmed by the Catholic peril in the United States. If his Catholicism has influenced Al Smith in office at all, it has made him rather specially careful to select non-Catholics for appointment. But if the Protestant bigots continue their dire work there will be in this country a real Protestant peril. If they continue they will make decent people hope, as an object-lesson, for the election of a Catholic President in 1928, a Jew in 1932, and an atheist in 1936.

An American Resume

"AMERICANISM" got back to an older meaning when the International Congress of Americanists met under Franz Boas's presidency in New York City, September 17 to 22. These Americanists were anthropologists from some twenty-five countries, and men with names like Bogoras, Hrdlicka, and Tello were among those who contributed most to an understanding of the remote American past. Anthropology has broadened in recent years. It is no longer a branch of biology; it is pre-history, and includes phases of psychology and sociology. And in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the last decade we have learned more about American prehistory than in a dozen earlier decades. It is not yet possible to make precise statements regarding the antiquity and origin of the American civilizations, but the papers read at this conference gave a new, vivid picture of pre-Columbian culture.

It seems agreed that man inhabited this continent at least a few thousand years before the Christian era, having come from Asia by way of Behring Straits, and the remarkable civilizations of pre-white America may be explained as native growths. But there agreement ends. In America a beginning of culture has as yet been fully traced only in the Southwest of the United States. The great civilizations to the South seem to have sprung up mysteriously full-born, already inter-related across great spaces, yet not demonstrably indebted to any special spot or impulse except as the development of agriculture contributed to a sedentary national life and a powerful religious tradition.

An impressive vision of the age and power behind these civilizations was afforded at the conference by the results of the Carnegie Institute expeditions, dramatically presented in the discoveries and reconstructions at Chichen-Itzá, under Dr. G. S. Morley, and the newly uncovered most ancient site of Huaxactun, dated before the Christian era, excavated by Dr. O. G. Ricketson; a concept of their scope across space was given in the results of the explorations of the Tulane University Expedition, under Dr. Franz Blom, which traversed on mule-back the whole of the Maya area, through the jungles from Central America to Yucatan; a further demonstration of high development at an early date was given in the newly reconstructed pyramid of Tenayuca in the Valley of Mexico, work undertaken by the Mexican Government under Dr. Jose Reygadas Vertiz, and in the study of pre-Aztec and pre-Toltec potteries of the Valley of Mexico, presented by Dr. G. C. Vaillant of the American Museum of Natural History.

Such civilizations as America produced do not die easily, despite the onward sweep of European culture. How elements of them survive, how they assimilate new factors and reshape themselves to new conditions, was suggested by Dr. S. K. Lothrop's discovery of a modern Maya calendar, directly fitting into the old, used today in Guatemala; by the Maya ceremonies and customs investigated by Oliver La Farge; by the evidence of fertility cults surviving in Guatemala, investigated by Dr. Franz Termer; by the primitive cults and "picture-writing" discovered by Dr. Erland Nordenskiold in South America; by the Bush Negro culture in Dutch Guiana, built up by runaway slaves out of African, European, and native American elements, investigated by Dr. J. M. Herskovits; by Dr. Barbeau's studies of the assimilation of art motifs by North American Indians, and Dr. Benedict's analysis of the psychological basis of the preservation of local traditions.

Apart from the scientific value of these investigations, they suggest experimental applications of anthropology, such as that initiated in Mexico by Dr. Manuel Gamio, and more recently among the primitive peoples of Russia by Dr. Waldemarx Bogoras, both on a similar principle of education on the basis of old customs and beliefs. To most of us today pre-Columbian America is more remote than pre-Christian Europe. These Americanists are opening the way for a coming American generation which will feel closer to its own continent.

The Woman's Party and Mr. Hoover

THE uncompromising National Woman's Party has compromised. After having declared repeatedly in its official organ, *Equal Rights*, as well as in statements by its leaders, that it could not give its organized support to any candidate for President who did not forthrightly, specifically, and unequivocally declare himself in favor of equal rights between men and women, a conference of its national and State officers and founders and life members has adopted a resolution "to support the Republican candidates for President and Vice-President for the reason that of all the candidates before the country, these are the only ones whose election offers any hope to the movement for equal rights between men and women."

What hope did Herbert Hoover and Charles Curtis offer to the movement for equal rights? The Republican platform "accepted" a non-existent equality between men and women, boasted of its appointment of women to government positions, and urged women to "participate even more generally than now in party management and activity." Later, however, the Republicans segregated women from the Eastern party conference into a little conference of ladies only.

In his speech of acceptance, Mr. Hoover said:

> Conservative, progressive, and liberal thought and action have their only real test in whether they contribute to equal opportunity, whether they hold open the door of opportunity. If they do not, they are false, no matter what their name may be.

When a deputation from the Woman's Party went to Mr. Hoover on September 12 and asked him, on the basis of this statement, to support the Equal Rights Amendment, his only suggestion was that he might have some of his friends make an investigation. In his reply to the Women's Party delegation, he said, according to the stenographic report later approved by him:

> There is on the statute-books of all States much legislation designed primarily for the benefit of women and children. I hesitate to say without a thorough and exhaustive study that all of these statutes should be brushed aside with one sweep of the hand.

"Women and children!" It was this sub-title in the Democratic platform which roused the Woman's Party to scorn and derision. It is a classification which they have been fighting ever since there was an organized demand for the rights of adult women. Yet only a few hours after Mr. Hoover used the hated phrase, the Woman's Party adopted a resolution to back him. Its indorsement of Mr. Curtis is, of course, logical since the Senate leader has consistently supported the Woman's Party and its program.

We have no quarrel with Mr. Hoover for his hesitation to support an amendment which would wipe out all protective industrial legislation. It is an attitude which he shares with the candidates of the Democratic and Socialist parties and with which we ourselves have sympathy. We quarrel only with the National Woman's Party, which in coming out for Mr. Hoover is abandoning an historic and successful policy of political strategy. But perhaps the days of militancy are over.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It Seems to Heywood Broun

HERBERT CLARK HOOVER has performed the extraordinary feat of managing to make dignity almost as offensive as billingsgate. Last week he declared that his campaign for the Presidency was based upon "the issues and conditions in the Republican Party" and that it was "not a campaign of opposition." In other words, so great is the exclusiveness of Mr. Hoover that he likes to pretend that there is no other candidate. The great humanitarian is quite above the tiresome necessity of answering any questions propounded by a man named Al. The famous engineer resents the fact that he should be called upon to explain to the voters his plans and purposes. With all an expert's contempt for commonalty, it suffices him to talk vaguely of prosperity and acres of diamonds and let the rest go hang. The textile workers starve, and if they clamor loud enough perhaps Herbert Hoover may hear and toss out a handful of statistics. The trouble with the farmers is that there are too many of them. Are coal miners hungry? Let them drop their picks, leave their children, and seek other jobs in busier regions. White is white and a straight line is the shortest distance between two points. Mr. Hoover in his own person has said a harsh word against no man and he has been bold enough to declare that he believes in righteousness, honesty, and tolerance. It is a rocking-chair campaign and the Republican nominee has not once come out from behind the sheltering potted palms.

As a matter of fact, Herbert Clark Hoover is not running for anything. He's being run. The holier-than-thou attitude of the man would be annoying enough in itself, but when this attitude serves merely as a false front to conceal the dirtiest political fight waged in this country in fifty years the composite picture becomes obscene. Public life knows no greater hypocrite than Mr. Hoover. He is deserving of the scorn of decent men.

After Governor Smith's speech in Oklahoma the Republican campaign managers had the audacity to reply that after all their man had already come out for tolerance and long before Al Smith. But Hoover's references to the subject were the veriest generalities. Not one word has he uttered to offend the Klan and all its kleagles. They may not be his men but he is theirs. Fanatics, trimmers, rascals have joined the train of Herbert Hoover and nothing has come from the great humanitarian to discourage such support.

Indeed the pretense has been set up that Mr. Hoover knows nothing about it. The voters are asked to believe that he is too aloof from petty politics to notice such things. Accepting such statements at face value, one would have to mark the man down as a magnificent recluse or someone not quite bright. But there is no reason why we should accept disclaimers from Work or Moses. The lies which they give out while their chief preens himself in silence are just a shade too gross. The religious issue, so they say, was dragged into the campaign by a desperate, undeserving Democrat.

Mabel Walker Willebrandt had already addressed a conference of Methodist pastors before Smith defied the Klan and all its allies. And then to emphasize Republican mendacity Mrs. Willebrandt did it once again. To be sure the lady said that she was not seeking to stir up religious prejudice. She merely invited all Methodist preachers to stand up in their pulpits and work for Mr. Hoover. Prohibition, according to her definition, is not a matter of politics at all but a moral issue. Seemingly she is willing to let the Protestant churches decide certain vital public questions in the light of their own dogma and bar all outsiders from having any voice in the matter whatsoever. But if prohibition is a moral issue and belongs beyond the range of politics, then so do divorce, birth control, and Sabbath observance. Is America calmly to turn all such questions over to the churchgoing members of the evangelical Protestant sects and refrain from making any decision through the weight of numbers?

Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt is no outsider exempt from party discipline. It seems to me an evil thing that a representative of the Department of Justice should mingle so vociferously in any campaign and still more when she lights the torch of denominational prejudice. But aside from being close to the Attorney General in the cabinet which Hoover has just quitted Mrs. Willebrandt is closely linked to the candidate in other ways. She was his right hand at Kansas City and served upon the Credentials Committee where she did yeoman service for the great humanitarian. Even though it disturbs the dignity of Mr. Hoover, somebody should take his statistics away from him and wake him with a resounding slap between the shoulders. And let this messenger from the outside world of hurly-burly shout loudly in his ear: "Herbert, I wish to call your attention to Mabel."

Immediately after the conventions there was comment by many newspapers tending to express the belief that both parties had put their best foot forward and that the country would be well served no matter who won the election. In a small way this commentator contributed to that fallacious reasoning. By now I wish that it had been Curtis or any one of the Old Guard stalwarts. No standpatter could possibly have succeeded in so debauching national politics by smearing them over with hypocrisy. Of course Herbert Hoover is not the first stuffed shirt set up as a breastwork for rogues and regulars. The pity of it lies in the fact that his camouflage has been successful with so many. All the aerated blood of Borah is on the hands of Herbert Hoover. If Curtis had only received the nomination we should have been spared the pitiful spectacle of seeing the Senator from Idaho whooping around the country with the tricks and postures of an old-line machine politician. Borah is dead. The cross which marks the spot should rest upon the abdomen of Herbert Hoover, for he has devoured a good man and swallowed him.

Naturally Mr. Hoover has been obliged to dispose of his own soul as well during the exigencies of the campaign, and in this respect he has proved himself a superb business man. According to tradition the deal can be made just once. Mr. Hoover has bettered the technique of Faust. His soul, and not a very big one either, has been bartered off a score of times. In fact, whenever he saw a group of voters.

HEYWOOD BROUN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Will Rogers, the Bunkless Candidate

By DOROTHY VAN DOREN

"WHATEVER the other fellow don't do, we will." Thus refreshingly Will Rogers, the bunkless candidate for President, begins his campaign. It is, of course, a dangerous doctrine, but Mr. Rogers does not mean it that way. In announcing himself as the candidate of the Anti-Bunk Party, he says: "Our support will have to come from those who want nothing and have the assurance of getting it." Within these limits, therefore, he—and the country—is perfectly safe. He can say what he likes, he can thumb his nose at politics, he can make saucy faces at government. There is not the slightest chance of his being elected, and the American people, which is said to be noted for its sense of humor, is willing to let such a man have his little joke and to laugh heartily at it.

The idea of running Will Rogers for President was conceived by *Life*, the humorous weekly, and in its columns he duly sets forth his views on politics and the other candidates. There are campaign buttons with Rogers's picture, burlesque political rallies are broadcasted over the radio, and *Life* is besieged by a large number of persons desirous of voting for Rogers and anxious to find out how to do it. A national committee of fifteen prominent citizens has solemnly agreed to indorse his candidacy. Henry Ford, Harold Lloyd, Nicholas Murray Butler, Roy Howard, Glenn H. Curtis, Judge Ben B. Lindsey, Babe Ruth, William Allen White, Clare Briggs, Grantland Rice, General William Mitchell, Ring Lardner, the Rev. Francis P. Duffy, Charles Dana Gibson, and Tex Rickard make up the committee. Thus it appears that Candidate Rogers has the support of Industry, Sport, Art, Journalism, the Army, the University, the Church, and the Bench. What more could a candidate ask? Radical and conservative, rich and—comparatively—poor, swell and proletarian, man of letters and ignorant financier, all these are not only among his anonymous supporters but his publicly announced committee. The Press and the People, the Catholic Church, the New York 400—surely no candidate was ever championed with such glorious variety from one end of the social scale to the other. And Will Rogers holds their support, he says, by eschewing bunk. "We are going to try and eliminate slogans. Slogans have been more harmful to the country than Boll-Weevil, Luncheon Clubs, Sand Fleas, Detours Conventions, and Golf Pants." Thus the candidate of the Anti-Bunk Party. "No matter what's on our platform now," he says, "on November 6 we will have a bonfire and burn the platform." However, a few of the planks in the Anti-Bunk platform are as follows:

Rogers Refuses to Admit that Sex Appeal is an Issue.

Whatever Hoover or Smith promises you, we'll raise 'em at least 20 per cent. (And I can come just as near keeping my promise as they can.)

We absolutely promise to make no effort to get votes by sex appeal. (We are glad to have so much support from the ladies, but if it turns out that it is only sex appeal, then they'll have to stop printing my picture in the paper.)

Our plank on the liquor question is: "Wine for the rich, beer for the poor, and moonshine for the drys."

We will not only give the farmer relief, we will cure him of being a farmer.

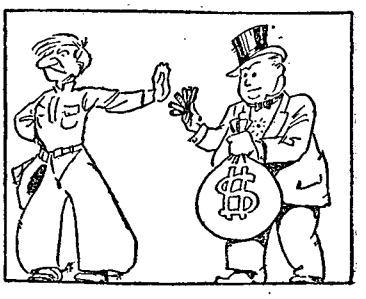
I also pledge myself that, if elected, I will not have any Official Spokesman.

The last plank ought to be good for a million extra votes anyway. But more encouraging even than his attitude on the Official Spokesman is Mr. Rogers's animadversions on the farmer. "I am the only candidate," he declares,

> that is running on either side that has ever looked a Mule in the face (or otherwise) down a corn row. I know what the farmer needs, but I can't give it to him. But I am going to tell him before election that I can't give it to him—and not afterwards.
>
> I can tell you in a few words what the farmer needs. He needs a punch in the jaw if he believes that either of the parties cares a dam about him after election!
>
> That's all the farmer needs, and that's all he'll get.

Mr. Rogers has nothing personally against his rivals. "They are both able, fine men," he says, "but they wasn't chosen on that account." They were chosen because they were vote-getters, he goes on, and Wet and Dry will forget their principles in the final crisis and stick by the party of their grandfathers. "All you hear now is the Politicians of both partys hollering about what great Candidates they have. Al Smith is really Thomas Jefferson disguised in a brown derby and Hoover is Abraham Lincoln with a college education." Thus the Anti-Bunk Party tells the truth about the opposing leaders. The politicians are running them because each looks like a good bet. Party leaders want to win. Mr. Rogers says he will eliminate party leaders; "no party can be as bad as its leaders," he adds. And the party leaders, having picked their candidates to win, now pretend that they "carry on the glorious traditions of our party" because—according to the relentless anti-bunker—"they're in favor of Motherhood, Virtue, the Constitution, and anything else that seems to call for a word of praise, including the Farmer."

All this is as invigorating as a bright fall day. In place of the stale windiness of political promises, we have wind, it is true, but wind of a refreshing



And Rejects Contributions of Money and Chewing Gum.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sort. The Rogers wind blows cobwebs away, cobwebs that both the major parties have been guilty of weaving. A good deal of this amiable truth-telling, of course, is due to the fact that Candidate Rogers doesn't expect, or even hope, to win.

"Mister Smith and Mister Hoover, you are hereby notified that you have been nominated for the presidency."
"Really? Well, this is great news!"
"Mister Rogers, you are hereby notified that you have been nominated for the presidency."
"Aw, I knew it. I saw it in the papers."

Not even in his funniest dreams, I imagine, can he see himself in the White House as its rightful tenant. So he can afford to tell at least part of the truth, and it is evident that he derives considerable enjoyment from the telling. He knows, as every intelligent man knows, that politics is no longer the recreation of gentlemen or, save at least rarely, the profession chosen by aspiring men who love and want to serve their country. It is a business, like any other business. You spend money to get in; if you don't spend enough money, you get out. "It's fine of these other candidates to want to run a campaign on a High Plane," says this Bad Boy of Politics,

> but it would be just like me wanting to conduct my campaign on a strictly grammatical basis. I would like to but I just ain't equipped for it, and that's the way they are. With politicians as the tools you just ain't equipped to conduct anything on a high plane. The whole election won't be a month old till everybody in it will revert right back to type. So this will give you a sort of rough idea of how low it will get by fall.
>
> So there's where the Anti-Bunk Party is lying low, just to grab up the fellows that can see these other two boys are nice kids, but they are just running for the job.
>
> They got their minds set on the tail end of Pennsylvania Avenue, and they will promise anything short of perpetual motion to have Senators eat breakfast with 'em.

This, says Mr. Rogers, is the truth about politics. And it is not necessary to set oneself up as a professional cynic in order to agree with him. This is the Age of Bunk. We eat it with our cereal at breakfast, we ride to work with it posted before our eyes, we see it in the movies at night, we hear it over the radio. Bunk is the American staple of existence. In love, in war, in work, in play it is busy making things seem what they almost certainly are not. Bunk greases the wheels of industry; bunk furnishes the home. Mr. Rogers, of course, did not originate this idea. Nor is he the first man to see that bunk colors politics as well as everything else in American life. The truth of the matter is that the American people like bunk, they choose it deliberately, it is the breath of life to them.

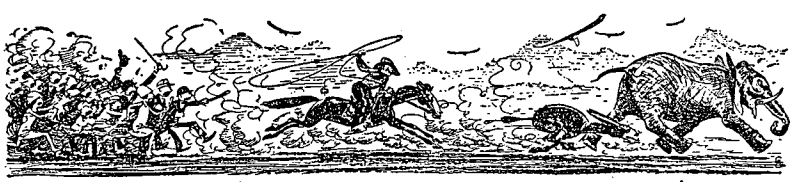
Doubtless Mr. Rogers is perfectly aware of this. At any rate, it is part of the joy that he gets out of life to be the debunker of persons, safe or otherwise. His quips in print or on the stage and lecture platforms long before he was nominated for the Presidency have spared nobody—that is one reason why he is such a popular candidate. Not even the holy Calvin Coolidge has been safe from him. Indeed, the longer the President has remained in office the sharper the humorous barbs, and the greater the reported coolness between them. In June last he wrote:

> I see by this morning's papers that Mr. Coolidge is sending somebody to Kansas City to protect his interest. If I had an interest to be protected at a political convention, I believe I would send the marines. It would be a good joke on the Republicans, if they went and nominated somebody else, if Coolidge would veto the nomination. He is liable to do it just through force of habit.

It is not his fault that the bunkless candidate has not appeared more largely on the political stage, for he challenged both Al Smith and Herbert Hoover. His challenge to Al is so characteristic that it deserves its place in this record:

> Dear Friend Al:
>
> Now this is the open season for debates, and I believe you and I could put on about as good a one as one of these others. So I hereby challenge you the way I challenged the other fellow last week.
>
> Now the trouble with most debates, they are confined to a subject. Now we won't let that worry us, we'll just rent Madison Square Garden. All we do is sell tickets, and let the money go to poor Democratic widows who have given their husband's lives to trying to get elected to some office in the Democratic Party. Those are the most deserving women I know of.
>
> And there's farm relief. You know how a farmer votes. When he gets to the polls he reaches in his pocket and sees how much he's got. If it's only a few cents, why, he says, "Throw the rascals out," and he votes Democratic. But if he's got as much as a dollar he guesses that the rascals is on his side after all, so maybe he'd better leave 'em in.
>
> I wrote Hoover and challenged him, but he wanted to make it over the radio. Hoover wants to get on the radio where they can't see him, but with you it's different. You want the gang to see you. You want to make your appeal to the common people. Well, you can't make any commoner appeal than I can.
>
> So come on, be a good fellow, Al, and name the time, place, and subject (if any). You and I can pack 'em in.
>
> So long, Al, and good luck to you till we meet in debate.
>
> Yours,
>
> WILL,
>
> Candidate of the Anti-Bunk Party, without campaign buttons or cigars.

The pity of it is "Will's" candidacy has not received even wider attention. However, thousands of Americans are giving thanks to Mr. Rogers for providing the one cheerful note in an otherwise trying political campaign.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Electric Rates Need Readjustment

By EDGAR J. KATES

FOR a number of years the electric light and power companies have been "regulated" by the several States; that is, before they could issue new stocks and bonds or change their rate schedules the companies were obliged to obtain the approval of State public-service commissions. It was recognized that it would be wasteful to have more than one electric company serve a single locality, but on the other hand, the privilege of exclusive service could not be safely granted unless there was some control in the public interest. And so laws have been enacted by most of the States, giving the electric companies the valuable privileges of exclusive territories and the rights of eminent domain, but imposing upon them supervision by State commissions.

Because the free conduct of their business would be hampered, the electric companies at first looked with disfavor upon State control, and many attempts were made to prevent the functioning of the public-service commissions. In the last few years, however, the attitude of the power companies toward the commissions has been completely reversed, and the companies are now staunch supporters of the principle of State regulation despite occasional controversies on specific details.

Why this change of mind? Can it be because the power companies have found State regulation profitable beyond their fondest hopes? Instead of unrestricted competition they now have monopolies—regulated monopolies, to be sure, but regulated in a manner highly advantageous to them.

In effect the public utilities are operating on a "cost plus" basis, and this bears great resemblance to a business man's idea of paradise. According to the regulative laws of most of the States, it is the duty of the public-service commission to limit the income of each power company to an amount not exceeding a "fair return" (usually put at 8 per cent) on the "rate base" or value of the property. While the stated purpose of the law is to prevent the return *exceeding* this limit, the nature of the business is such that few companies earn appreciably less than the maximum allowed. Two-thirds of the utility income being derived from current sold for lighting, which is almost entirely non-competitive, the income necessary to pay an 8 per cent return is easily assured by a sufficiently high-rate schedule for lighting service.

This "fair return" upon the value of the property used by the electric power company is the foundation upon which has been reared the type of financial pyramid so clearly brought to light by last year's report of the Federal Trade Commission's investigations. The 8 per cent earnings upon the total investment of the operating company not only suffice to pay the holders of the bonds and preferred stock their 5 to 7 per cent, but the remaining earnings yield 12 to 15 per cent to the holders of the common stock equities in these operating companies. Furthermore, by means of holding-company ownership of these common stock equities, the multiplication process is repeated, whereby the promoters who own the common stock of the *holding companies* receive, according to the official report, earnings ranging from 16.50 per cent to as high as 55.22 per cent! The ordinary investor who supplies most of the money in the business is excluded from these huge profits and receives merely 5 to 7 per cent on his holdings of bonds or preferred stock.

The profit in the pyramiding process results from the fact that the public-service commissions allow a return of 8 per cent on the *total* investment while the promoters pay the public an average of less than 6 per cent for the capital it supplies. The arithmetic is simple. Take the case of an electric generating system costing $100,000,000 and having the following typical capital structure:

5% bonds, held by public	$60,000,000
7% preferred stock, held by public	20,000,000
Common stock, held by promoters	20,000,000
Total investment	$100,000,000

The public-service commission allows a return of 8 per cent on the investment, or $8,000,000. This income is distributed as follows:

To bonds, held by public	$3,000,000
To preferred stock, held by public	1,400,000
To common stock, held by promoters	3,600,000
Total distribution	$8,000,000

Thus the promoters, with an investment of $20,000,000, receive an annual income of $3,600,000, or 18 per cent!

By forming a holding company, the promoters can greatly increase their dividend rate beyond this already substantial figure. Instead of keeping the $20,000,000 common stock of the generating system, they transfer it to a holding company which is capitalized at the same amount. The holding company thereupon distributes its own securities in the following way:

5% bonds of holding company, held by public	$10,000,000
7% preferred stock of holding company, held by public	5,000,000
Common stock of holding company, held by promoters	5,000,000
Total capitalization of holding company	$20,000,000

Through its ownership of the entire common stock of the generating system the treasury of the holding company receives the $3,600,000 earnings thereon. This income is then distributed as follows:

To bonds, held by public	$500,000
To preferred stock, held by public	350,000
To common stock, held by promoters	2,750,000
Total distribution	$3,600,000

In this way, the promoters, with an investment of $5,000,000, not only exercise complete control over property worth $100,000,000 but also receive annual returns of $2,750,000, or 55 per cent!

There is probably nothing illegal about this sort of pyramiding and it could be, and is, applied to other classes of business beside that of producing electric energy. In fact, its name conveys a wrong impression of its stability unless the pyramid be pictured as standing upon its apex. The inflated profits accruing to the small managing group are completely dependent upon the maintenance of the 8 per

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cent return. Let this fall off and the promoters' profits decline swiftly. This is the deterrent in pyramiding propositions in most lines of business. But the difference between the electric-power industry and the others is that it is a monopoly under State protection, and its earnings, though not guaranteed by the State, are assured by our present system of regulation. Assure the 8 per cent return on the operating companies' property and you render certain these handsome earnings of 16 to 55 per cent to the controlling financiers.

In view of this delightful situation is it surprising that the financiers are eager to increase the investment in the electric power industry? The bigger they can build the business, the bigger will be their own returns. Since the earnings are proportional to the value of the property, technically called the "rate base," there is a strong incentive for promoters to increase their profits by enlarging the rate base.

Now the rate base cannot legally be increased through indiscriminate additions to the property in the form of unnecessary electric-generating equipment or transmission lines. The law requires that all additions be approved by the public-service commission, and the commission is charged with the duty of disallowing any addition which it finds to be unnecessary. So the promoters' aim is to show cause for plant enlargement and thus obtain the public-service commissions' authorization. Obviously the simplest reason for plant enlargement is an increased demand for electricity.

For the purpose of establishing this increased demand the industrial power user is an ideal prospect. Manufacturing establishments consume large amounts of electric power which can be supplied either by the manufacturer's own plant or by the public utility company. To obtain this load for its own lines, the central station need only quote a price low enough to cause the manufacturer to give up his own power plant. Of course the more efficient the private plant is, the lower price will the central station have to quote in order to make its own proposition attractive.

In many cases where industrialists can generate their own power quite cheaply, the central station must quote an exceedingly low price, one that means little or no profit. Though in an ordinary business such a procedure would not be regularly practised, because it would not pay, there is no such deterrent in the case of the public utilities under the present form of regulation. On the contrary, there is every temptation for them to quote as low a price as is necessary to get the business, practically irrespective of cost, since they will be allowed an 8 per cent return on the enlarged rate base. The inadequate profit on the power load can easily be compensated for by charging sufficiently high prices to certain other classes of consumers, particularly lighting customers, who use but little current and must pay whatever rates are charged.

The records show that the electric companies have not resisted this temptation to favor the industrial power user as against the lighting customer. From 1922 to 1926 the amount of electric energy sold in the United States increased 20,308,000 kilowatt-hours, or 58 per cent. Of this increase 14,087,000 kilowatt-hours, or 69 per cent was the result of enlarging the power load, while only 5,264,000 kilowatt-hours, or 26 per cent, was due to increased residential usage. (The small remainder applies to electric railways.) Nevertheless, the lighting customers contributed $414,800,000, or 74 per cent, to the increase in gross revenue, while the power consumers, who were mainly responsible for the plant enlargement, paid only 25 per cent toward it. The accompanying changes in rates are interesting. The average lighting kilowatt-hour which sold for 7.07 cents in 1922 had advanced to 7.36 cents in 1926, while on the other hand the average kilowatt-hour for power use actually dropped from 1.50 cents to 1.29 cents in the same period. It was only through such rate reductions that the existing power business could be held and the enormous additional load obtained.

This discrimination is obviously against public policy. By means of excessively low rates charged to industrial users of power, the central stations have added an enormous amount of load to their lines. The public-service commissions have duly authorized the corresponding plant enlargements, with the accompanying increase in rate base. In 1926 no less than $900,000,000 was invested in such enlargements in the United States.

What is the result? The central stations are permitted to earn a fair return on this increment to the rate base. Roughly this amounts to 8 per cent annually on $900,000,000, or $72,000,000, which is what the public will pay every year thereafter as the return on the utility enlargements during 1926. No criticism could be made if a fair share of this huge sum were derived from earnings on the industrial power load that was responsible for the plant enlargement. But that is not the case; the industrial power load has been acquired at low rates, in many cases so low that there is no profit whatever in it. No, the increased earnings cannot be obtained from that source, but they are derived from the far more tractable class of residential consumers. They are the ones who, by paying excessive electric rates, produce the 8 per cent earnings on the additional plant investment, which in turn becomes a profit of 16 to 55 per cent on the money that the financiers themselves have put into the business.

The mere exposition of the facts exposes the faulty principle in our system of utility regulation and indicates the remedy. Regulation at present is ineffective because it is founded on the principle that the sale of electric current is altogether a monopolistic business, that all classes of customers need to be equally protected, and that this can be accomplished in a simple manner by limiting the *total* earnings. The fact is that only a small part of the electricity is sold monopolistically, while the majority of the current is disposed of under highly competitive conditions. Limiting the *total* return does not at all prevent one class being exploited in order that the total return may be made the full legal maximum on an economically unsound enlargement of the business.

We need legal cognizance of the fact that part of the consumers can produce their electric power requirements at a competitive price while others cannot. The central station's customers should be divided into classes, and the *return on each class* should be limited. Such a limitation of the return on the investment utilized in serving the residention consumers will at once stop the mulcting of that class. The companies will be ordered to reduce their rates to the home, and then something will take place that is common enough in other industries but which most central-station men have not visualized. When prices are reduced, the falling off of income will be but temporary, inasmuch as the lower prices will induce a larger usage. This has always happened with commodities of the convenience or luxury type, where the saturation point is practically non-existent,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and indeed has actually occurred in the few cases where it has been tried in the sale of domestic electricity. Lower rates have not only induced the householders to use more current to obtain better lighting, but also to make greater use of such electrical conveniences as flat-irons, vacuum-cleaners, dish-washers, washing-machines, and mechanical refrigerators. Electric cooking, with its amazing ease of control and its freedom from waste heat, is an unsurpassed improvement in the kitchen, and if rates were lowered, the only fault of the electric stove—costly operation—would be eliminated.

Engineering studies have shown that if electric rate schedules were lowered sufficiently to induce such greater use of electric appliances in the home, the volume of business would be increased so greatly that the net profits to the central stations would far exceed those under the present restricted usage.

Thus the electric companies would not lose by an enforced reduction of rates to the home, and the community would greatly benefit by the full enjoyment of those unique services that only electricity can supply.

Bombing London

By LEE SIMONSON

Nayland, Suffolk, August 23

EVERYONE, as the evening express for Suffolk and points east pulled out of Liverpool Street station, leaned out to see a great V of airplanes overhead with others looping above and swooping below them. It was the second day of the raids realistically staged by the Air Ministry. "How we bombed London," read the headlines in the evening paper in my lap. After supper we watched the last defenders, a triangle of three pinpricks of light over our garden, returning to their base. "Pretty, isn't it?" said the cook. As she made the fire in the drawing room she recalled how her home town, Sudbury, nine miles west, had been hit by a passing Zeppelin in 1916, and the brains and livers of various farmers blown out of them as they slept. Sudbury is a market town. There hadn't been an encampment, a war factory, or a depot within miles. "Funny, wasn't it?" said our cook.

It is funny. But it is still funnier to speculate as to what has happened to the well-known sense of humor of the average taxpayer. The *Observer* admits that according to the official umpires "200 tons of bombs could have been dropped on London. Moreover, any hit within the target is a bull's eye. The target in this case is Greater London with its 10,000,000 inhabitants." The Student of War in the *Times* concedes even more: "No local defenses can possibly prevent an air raid over London, and the same is true of every large town in the country. The real defense against air raids is our power to do worse to the enemy's capital before he can do it to ours."

Thus, if the precise military objective isn't hit—an arsenal or an aerodrome—something will be in any case, mothers, children, curates, seamstresses, cooks, hairdressers, cabmen, green-grocers, and such. Of course, not all of them will be blown to bits in their beds or at their supper tables. The lingering fate of the rest was sketched by the whiff of phosgene gas that got loose in Hamburg recently and sent its fumes far enough to strangle a few suburban cows. But the survivors will, at any rate, have the immense satisfaction of reading the very next day how many more mères et enfants, abbés, midinettes, cuisinières, coiffeurs, and marchands des comestibles have been efficiently pulverized. Even if 10,000,000 gas masks aren't on tap when the next war is declared, the moral is obvious and the *Times* trumpets it: "Every man, woman, and child must exhibit the qualities of a disciplined soldier under fire."

This is, of course, a romantic prospect for non-combatant stay-at-homes who haven't read or who will have forgotten what the emotions of combatants in the last war were really like. But the emotions of civilians of former wars will be experienced by all the slackers at the front in tin helmets, snuggling in dugouts, gloating over their comparative safety, fortified by the occasional relaxation of aiming a gun or taking a bayonet jab at a visible opponent. The only strain will be the news of the home casualties as they reach the front each evening, and the anxiety as to whose family has been wiped out. A wife's earring forwarded; unfortunately nothing else could be recovered from the debris of Brompton Road. Ten-year-old Lilian's last words as she choked to death in the gas hospital: "Tell father I helped to defend London." Johnny, aged twelve, had said only the night before: "I'm helping fight this war. I don't care if I am only a target." Unfortunately, no souvenir of Johnny could be found.

The gold-star fathers! Poets in profusion will be needed to portray their emotions. How much more they will have to revenge! And how much better they will fight, urged never to forget by the bishops and editors who have not yet been air-raided.

There will at least be no question of the morale of the fighting troops under such circumstances. And thereby the high commands will be relieved of one great problem and the press spared for the more important work of sustaining the morale of the home army of women and children. For, as the *Times* points out also, raids will be undertaken for the purpose alone of shattering civilian morale regardless of factories and ammunitions dumps, presumably to the farthest counties. Morale, so difficult to aim at in the trenches, is so easily hit from the air. The population must stand firm. With the pertinacity of the human animal they doubtless will, and mop up each other's viscera in the cause of civilization.

The next war will naturally be as brief as the last one was expected to be. The obvious tactics will, of course, be to raid the enemy's capital first and not be too messy about missing arsenals and army headquarters at the first blow. Under the circumstances it seems surprising that no Ministry of Defense has calculated just how much of the home town's population could be temporarily housed in the subways, a gas mask hung from every strap, if all the cars were stood end to end.

It's too bad we can't have a sample war just to be certain of what it would be like instead of having to rely on umpires as to how many tons of bombs were dropped and precisely what they hit. But we have had sample wars in Nicaragua and elsewhere, and taught women and children the penalty of having husbands and fathers who held the wrong opinions. That doesn't seem to help much. Reviving our imaginations is probably too vague a project after all. It is much more practical to wait for the next war and put the subways into a state of preparedness.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Driftway

AT a London exhibition of engineering models just opened the prize exhibit was Eric the Robot, the steel man with electric bulbs for eyes, which—or who—stood up, bowed, delivered a speech in a dreadful, hollow voice, and sat down. This reminds the Drifter that as soon as he can take the time he means to make a list of things which may be profitably performed by the mechanical men now being constructed by the General Electric Company. At present these creatures are being used to shout a warning when the Washington water supply reaches a dangerous level. Probably they have other functions as uninteresting; they can turn electric current on and off, they can operate electrical machinery. But, in the Drifter's opinion, it would be far better to have tasks like these performed by men of flesh and blood, and train the mechanical man to do something really worth while.

* * * * *

TAKE, for example, the business of social functions. How simple it would be and how agreeable, when asked to a tea or reception, to send one's mechanical man instead. It—or he—could ring the door bell, give his hat to the butler, mount the stairs, shake hands with the hostess, and engage her daughter in conversation. A few well-chosen remarks might be talked into him, as in a phonograph, before the occasion; they would certainly suffice for tea conversation, provided there were as many as ten or a dozen of them. At a dinner party the mechanical man could eat the chicken without indigestion, at White House breakfasts he could safely stow away the sausages and griddle cakes. He could go to the movies without being bored, he could sit by the hour—or stand, for all the Drifter cares—and listen to the radio, turning it off when it tired even him. Each professional man could have his personal Mechano, which would stand at his elbow during most of the day. When a lady came up to him and said brightly: "Oh, Professor X., I am so delighted to meet you! I hear you are a philosopher, and I do so love to talk about philosophy ever since that course I took last winter," the professor could smile kindly—surely that takes no effort, but perhaps the mechanical man could even learn to smile—and urge forward his steel companion, who, in a voice full of all the proper respect, could satisfy the lady.

* * * * *

BUT, after all, this is mere child's play compared to what mechanical creatures could do if they tried. So far the Drifter has merely, in his imagination, saved himself from being bored. How much pleasanter it would be to save himself from being tired! It requires only another step to fancy Mechano taught to do work of any kind. Thus one could sit home of a morning and dawdle over breakfast, secure in the knowledge that one's occupation down town was being conducted with acumen and dispatch—or at least enough acumen and dispatch to meet all requirements. Thus the subways would be filled with creatures protected by armor plate from the crowds, thus business would boom without the necessity of considering the troublesome human equation. Even the Drifter, who has been accused of never doing anything useful, could let the Robot perform his drifting for him. Which is probably the only thing that would stop him from being

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Houston's Shame

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Did you note this dispatch?

> Houston, Texas, Sept. 13. (A.P.)—Finis was officially written here today in the murder case against Robert Powell, Negro, who was lynched on the morning of June 20. Powell was in a hospital with a bullet wound in his stomach and charged with the slaying of City Detective A. W. Davis when a group of men entered the hospital, took the Negro from his bed, and lynched him from a bridge over a shallow ditch (just before the Houston Democratic convention opened).
>
> The grand jury today wrote on the docket against Powell's name: "Defendant dead—no action taken."

It looks as though the prosecution were a mere sop thrown to the Northern people visiting the Convention.

Quonah, Texas, September 15 H. R. SOUTHWOOD

Tight Walkers?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Shakespeare says that consistency is a jewel, but this evidently does not apply to the domain of politics. The millions of Dry Democrats who are going to vote for Smith and the like number of Wet Republicans who will cast their ballot for Hoover are agilely carrying a pail of water on one shoulder and a keg of beer on the other.

Washington, D. C., September 14 KELLY MILLER

Do It Now!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read Professor Earle's letter in *The Nation* of September 26. When will the liberals and progressives stop saying, "just this time" or "on this occasion"? Every year when a "red herring" is thrown across the path of progress as bait for the Liberal and Progressive votes a large number of liberal and progressive voters are so glued down by their old traditions that rather than really break away from the two old parties they try to look up excuses why they should support one or the other of the old party candidates. They admit that the two old parties are rotten, yet they choose between the lesser of the two evils.

Governor Smith has not Tammanyfied the State government, not because he did not want to do so but because he could not do so. The Republicans are all-powerful up-State and Governor Smith was being reelected because of the sufferance of many Republicans up-State. But does the professor not forget the connection of Governor Smith with the Sulzer case? As the Speaker of the Assembly, he was Boss Murphy's main mover in impeaching a man for alleged crimes committed before he became Governor. This was done presumably because Boss Murphy could not dictate the actions of a governor who wanted to go straight and become independent after receiving the suffrage of the people.

Governor Smith has no more chance of being elected than Norman Thomas. Hoover will win. If a vote is to be "thrown away," a progressive and a liberal should throw it away for a party and candidate that is working for the common good. Both Mr. Earle and *The Nation* express a hope for a third party in the future. Why keep on putting it off? Why not have all the forces of progress unite this year as never before and roll up a tremendous vote for Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Socialist candidates, thereby giving hope and courage to the forces of enlightenment that have kept the flag of "peace, freedom, and plenty" flying for these many years? Do it now!

New York, September 20 SAMUEL ORR

The One Issue

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In this campaign, the Catholic focuses the fight for religious liberty and all those who abhor bigotry, in any of its forms or manifestations, should rally round Al Smith.

Through bitter experience, we Jews know only too well the negative value of religious discrimination. We paid the bloody price of it in the dark Russia of yesterday, and are still paying it now in some so-called civilized countries of Europe. And so we are going to fight, to the last ditch, any attempt of that devastating monster permanently to intrench himself in our new home. That, I maintain, is the all-important issue of the day. All the rest is bunk. Prohibition, farm relief, foreign relations—all great problems, I agree. But neither of the candidates of the two major parties has, so far, offered a definite solution, probably for fear of incurring the ire of the powers-that-be.

All that is rotten in America today—that despicable bunch of cheap notoriety seekers, demagogues, and religious fanatics —are all aligned against Smith. This in the year 1928. Are we reverting to the dark ages? Let the true lovers of America, of which the Jew has always been one, storm that Chinese wall of intolerance and bigotry!

Brooklyn, N. Y., September 13. NATHAN M. HARRIS

Anonymous, of Course

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I once thought you were getting your eyes open to Truth, but alas, you snore now in your sleep. The greatest fakir of all generations has you in his coils. Holy Writ says: "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?" Why always "Governor" Smith and "Mr." Hoover? Who hobnobs with the kings of earth more than Rome? Your days of usefulness are numbered. Already Rome has vomited enough stuff to nauseate any decent man. You have the "dizzyotis."

Lafayette, Indiana, September 18 EX-JOURNALIST

Religion and Liquor

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Won't you please tell us why a man cannot object to a candidate for public office on the ground of his church affiliation, and still not be a "bigot"? Do you think that any man in the Presidency who is under the influence of any strong church or other organization can fill the job as fairly as a man without such connections? Without whispering or apologizing I maintain that Governor Smith can legitimately be opposed because he is a Catholic. I would not want a Catholic's tutored views on divorce, birth control, the rights of women, public education, etc., to be overshadowing the administration of our national government. I cannot see why *The Nation* would want it. No more would I like to see militant Methodist supervision of morals, which, however, does not bother me much, since I consume only about a quart of good wine a year and have no trouble finding where to get it.

Non-Catholic Smith supporters think that he would not be swayed by his church and they point to his governorship as an example. What question important enough to gain public notice in which the Catholic church was interested ever came up before Smith as Governor? Also, hasn't it been a tradition in New York that if a man could get to be Governor of this State he could follow in the shoes of Cleveland or Roosevelt, providing he were on his good behavior? I do not doubt that Tammany realized this as well as the young Theodore Roosevelt.

I was in the Middle West this summer and spent a month in Methodist localities which were dripping wet. We must not consider the Prohibition issue a whisper—it is a smoke screen. Almost everyone in the Middle West seems to be making his own wine and home brew, and after seven or eight years of practice he has it down pat. They are all proud of their accomplishments, too, and ask you if you ever bought anything as good as that in the old saloon days. And they are all for Prohibition. It has done away with the saloon and keeps the city feller on the job.

New York City, September 15 DAVID MCCARL

The Frontier of Decency

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Heywood Broun affirms in *The Nation* for September 19 that "it is silly to bring any sort of criminal indictment against vowels and consonants"; therefore indecency is all right. Admirable. But why pause? Why not overturn two or three other superstitions with this nimble magic? The name a man forges on a check is made up of vowels and consonants. Vowels and consonants make up the words by which a man lyingly swears away his neighbor's life in the courtroom. It is silly to indict vowels and consonants. Therefore forgery, perjury, and legal murder are right. Mr. Broun cannot be the dupe of the fallacy that the innocence of the tool vindicates the purposes of the user.

"There is no such thing as a bad word," says Mr. Broun. "Language was created by man and in (is?) his own language." Language reflects man. If, then, weak men utter weak words, silly men silly words, proud men proud words, and great men great words, why not bad men bad words? Mr. Broun probably values the difference between his mother's English and that of a barmaid. Society also values that difference, and, to insure its maintenance, sets up, wisely or unwisely, a usage called decency. Why does Mr. Broun quarrel with society for agreeing with him?

Our critic would approve a world in which everybody would say everything; that is "Utopia." But why does he enjoy "The Front Page"? Plainly, because somebody in "The Front Page" says something that somebody else doesn't. His everybody in abolishing his somebody else would abolish his somebody. Mr. Broun owes to decency his chuckle at indecency; it is a pity that he does not thank his benefactor.

Man rejoices in sex and is worried by it; his manners and his speech will reflect both those feelings. That is why the line of decency, where these two feelings meet, though shifting, is ineffaceable.

Mineapolis, Minn., September 18 O. W. FIRKINS

Justice to Judge Murray

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I think your article Blasphemy a la Mode, with which in the main I heartily agree, is unfair to my friend Judge M. J. Murray of Boston, who dismissed the charge against Dr. Kallen. I have known Judge Murray for more than thirty years and in my judgment no fairer or more sympathetic judge toward all mankind is on the bench anywhere. It does not seem to me that your interpretation of his words is necessarily the only one and, in any case, I know that the article misrepresents the man.

Boscawen, N. H., September 17 A. A. BERLE, SR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books and Plays

Two Poems

By S. BERT COOKSLEY

Late Reaping

Always the fear was there, always there walked
  Into the day a shadow of the night.
And my lips cooled, my lips would be lines chalked
  Thickly on a mask of fright.

I thought: One day I shall be running where
  The thin road ends, running there and holding
My heart against the green sky—standing there
  Watching the moon unfolding

Along the field and the stars clinging fast.
Running there quickly, needing love at last!

Beggar's Sonnet

Better be blind than see what beggars see
In their brown sacks when the day is over,
And the wind in his rags walks down the lea
And the spent lark pushes into clover.

Better be mute than speak what beggars speak
Round their green fires when the moon is coming,
And the gaunt lizard paddles to the creek
And the brittle locust begins drumming.

Better be deaf than hear what beggars hear
In the pitch night when they draw their covers,
And the star-crazy wood rats blunder near
And the blank owls become noisy lovers.

Rather than dream their dreams till day returns,
Better stretch dead across the loco ferns.

Literary Epitaphs

By ERNEST HARTSOCK

FOR MR. BABBITT

He organizes Heavenly Business Clubs
  For God's Miltonic after-dinner speeches;
Calls Michael "Mike" between his sillabubs,
  And has no time to practice what he preaches.

FOR (MR. ERSKINE'S) GALAHAD

His strength, you know, was as the strength of ten,
  His heart was Ivory pure, he always said.
Alas, in Heaven Goliath falls again
  When David finds his weak spot—in his head.

FOR ELMER GANTRY, JR.

Here lies a little son of Elmer Gantry,
  Worried to death by Jonah and the Whale;
He now swipes milk and honey from God's pantry
  And ties tin cans to the Hound of Heaven's tail.

Jesus for the Rationalist

The Son of Man: The Story of Jesus. By Emil Ludwig. Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. Boni and Liveright. $3.

THE many lives of Jesus fall in the main into one of two categories depending on whether the founder of Christianity is regarded as a natural or a supernatural character. While each type of life has its own problems, both have been affected by the progress of rationalism. Indeed, one of the chief extrinsic interests of every biography of Christ is its character either as a positive or as a negative reflex of the rationalist spirit. From the time when the very notion of a life of Jesus was blasphemy, rationalism has made the conception of Jesus as the Son of Man less and less revolutionary. The great problem of the first studies was to explain away the miracles. Then came a more skeptical period which subjected the gospel narratives to a more fundamental and searching historical criticism to establish their relative value as documents. Upon this followed attempts to reconstruct the life of Jesus psychologically in accordance with human probability. Indeed, most "lives" of Jesus have been less lives than studies of the sources for a life of Jesus, in other words, biblical criticism.

The very title of the present work shows that it is intended for the rationalistically minded modern who experiences religious emotion vaguely but is nevertheless interested in the character of Jesus. In the preface Herr Ludwig makes much of the originality of his conception of Jesus as the son of man, but it will hardly come as a revelation at this date to educated men. The life now offered to us is rather labored than inspired. While Ludwig has perhaps realized its problems critically he has been unable to solve them creatively. To write a life of Jesus the prime requirement is a bold imagination, and he has been too timid to do more than build very tenuous bridges across various episodes of the gospels. It is true that he has motivated various individual incidents with a great deal of plausibility, not to say ingenuity, but he has failed to connect the great gaps in our knowledge of the life of Jesus. The motivation of his personality as a whole remains unaccomplished. Ludwig is primarily the documentary historian who is quite helpless without a profusion of documents, but in the life of Jesus the authentic documents are so few that his very historicity has been doubted. Indeed, Ludwig naively apologizes that his book is so short! The caution he exhibits moreover is so great that many whole chapters are little more than summaries of the gospel teachings. Besides, although advanced theologians have long ceased to place much importance upon the naturalistic explanation of the miracles, Ludwig is still greatly preoccupied with this trifling. This is a fault to which German theologians have always been especially prone since the days of Paulus and Schleiermacher, and so it is less strange that Ludwig has gone astray.

His life of Jesus belongs rather to the increasing biographical studies of these days than to devotional literature. One imagines him resolving to "do" a life of Jesus, who with Napoleon and Bismarck has been one of the great men of the earth. As it appears consciously to have been written to be "popular" among a growing class of at least superficially educated readers, it is particularly interesting as a rationalistic reflex. Essentially Ludwig has undertaken to rewrite Renan, who appealed to much the same class of readers without, however, much concern for anything but his own tastes, and Ludwig frequently betrays his indebtedness to his model. Although Renan's purpose was as much aesthetic as religious, he was too much of a scholar to do away entirely with the controversial footnotes on the sources; but the conventions of the new biography are evi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dent in the bold omission of all such concessions. The weakening of the religious spirit since 1865 is manifest in the considerable toning down of the excessive religious emotionalism which at that time made for the success of Renan's work. The diffusion of the rationalist spirit also has worked to make Ludwig take a more charitable view than Renan of the part played by the Jews in the life of Jesus. He has adhered so strictly to the dictates of reason that he failed to capture the fire of religious poetry and truth which is in the gospels and, in lesser measure, in Renan.

Ludwig has apparently attempted to write a shrewd life of Jesus. The insincerity of such an object is less flattering to the author than he has aimed to be toward his public. Even an honest rationalist must regard a life of Jesus so conceived as "blasphemy." It has been said that the first and only Christian died upon the cross. It is perhaps no less true that the first and only life of Jesus is in the gospels. The life of Jesus, the Son of God, will never be better written than in them. A life of Jesus, the Son of Man, must sacrifice too much of their essential truth and beauty. Biblical criticism, of course, is another matter. Thus rationalism, which first made any other versions of the life of Jesus possible, has put almost insuperable obstacles in its way.

WILLIAM SEAGLE

England's Holy War

England's Holy War. By Irene Cooper Willis. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

IN the years before 1914 the Liberal Party in England, apart from one or two Cabinet Ministers consciously or unconsciously working for war, was so pacifically inclined that it could not believe danger of war existed. Most of its members were absorbed in domestic problems and had little understanding of the ominous way international events were shaping. Even when the crisis broke in the closing days of July they failed to realize what was happening. The Liberal press, taking Asquith's and Grey's pledges at their face value, protested that Britain was not bound to France and should remain neutral.

Nevertheless on August 4 Britain took the plunge: the diplomatists and soldiers had made sure of that. The Tory press, firmly convinced that the war was one of vital national interest, continued happily to beat the Jingo drums. But the Liberal press was acutely unhappy. It had been pacifist; now it felt a conflict between its patriotism and its principles. The quandary gave it a violent attack of brain fever. At its bedside Miss Willis sat through four long years, feeling its pulse and noting its ravings. Her diagnosis of the painful case and her report on its strange symptoms are to be found in "England's Holy War," which originally appeared in London in three small volumes, "How We Went into the War," "How We Got on with the War," and "How We Came Out of the War."

The *Daily News*, the chief London Liberal organ, declared on August 5 "that it would have been just and prudent and statesmanlike for England to have remained neutral," but, it concluded, "being in we must win." The Liberal editors were rational and idealistic men and a position as negative as this was impossible for them. Rapidly they began to idealize the conflict, to see it as a struggle between the powers of light and the powers of darkness. They took it upon themselves to supply, not only for Britain but for the Allies at large, war aims of a highly moral nature. They invented the slogan "The War to End War." They worked strenuously to square their consciences with eloquent rationalizations. It was a pitiful effort, "the offspring of an enforced union between abhorrence of, and submission to, the war."

As, with Miss Willis's aid, we follow the course of the Liberal press from day to day during the early months of the war, we feel sick and sorrowful. The men who sought in its columns to whiten the face of Mars with an emotional lather were those whom we have many reasons to respect: Gardiner of the *Daily News;* Massingham of the *Nation;* H. G. Wells; and, alas, even the editors of the *Manchester Guardian.*

At first they maintained a fairly high level of argument. Kaiserism, not the German people, was denounced as the offender. The Allies, determined to overthrow the former, were, it was argued, plainly furthering the interests of the latter. But, after all, Kaiserism was a charge equally applicable to Britain's noble ally, the Czar of all the Russias, who, not so long before, had been anathema to every good Liberal. The atrocity stories, which soon put in an appearance, were useful in settling this difficulty. Miss Willis writes:

> The *Daily News* searched even more assiduously than the *Daily Mail* for traces of German moral defects because these discoveries helped it to overcome its twinges of conscience about fighting as the ally of Czardom. It struggled throughout August and September, 1914, with that twinge, but, by the end of September, what with Louvain, Malines, Rheims, and the atrocity reports it was almost quite happy about the Russian alliance. It wallowed in German's immorality.

Liberal belief in the holy war continued almost unabated for more than four years. It was shaken somewhat by the publication of the Secret Treaties, but President Wilson and the Russian Revolution helped to restore the faith. Only when the peace treaty and its aftermath blew up the whole Utopia which had been so elaborately and painfully concocted did the Liberal idealists perceive that the powers of darkness had been hovering impartially over both camps.

Miss Willis has told the story of this unparalleled campaign of self-deception mainly by quotations from the daily press during those years, linked by a running commentary. The coolness of her own thinking and the acid quality of her style can be indicated by brief quotations from her conclusions:

> The war, from the intellectual point of view, was a flow of unbridled impulse; the thought that ran alongside the engines of destruction was of a rotten quality. The world's moral currency has been debased by the extraordinary issues of beliefs, with less and less substantial backing in fact.
>
> What is wanted to avoid such catastrophes as this which has almost ruined us is not so much a creed as a skepticism.

It is not for nothing that Miss Willis has been a distinguished student of Montaigne.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Journalism from Russia

The New Russia. By Dorothy Thompson. Henry Holt and Company. $3.

TO call this book excellent journalism is to challenge two possible opposed conceptions of the term. Miss Thompson is no provider of hot copy for a hectic press, and neither is she a George Bernard Shaw. But when Shaw claims the title of journalist on the ground that "what the journalist writes about is what everyone is thinking about (or ought to be thinking about)," he admits Miss Thompson to his company, if not his class. To her Russia is hot copy, because its rulers are attempting to overthrow the accepted economic order and ideology, a far more stupendous revolution than either physically effected in the spring and fall of 1917. Miss Thompson's sense of human news values is, then, unassailable. Her failure adequately to cover her assignment, noticeable only in two main instances, is due to no deficiency of judgment. In one case it may be attributed to lack of self-confidence. In the other she has bitten off not more than she can chew but certainly more than she had completely digested before she sat down to assemble the material for her book.

Miss Thompson is revolted, and, in a way rightly, by the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If the world's greatest thinkers are too "deep" for you, would you pay fifty cents for a clear understanding of their ideas?

EVERYWHERE you go these days, you hear people talking about the Darwinian theory. You know that the revolutionary, breath-taking ideas with which Charles Darwin startled the world are contained in his book, THE DESCENT OF MAN. Sometimes you have thought it would be a fine thing to read that book, and get Darwin's ideas direct. But it was a big book, filled with obscure language, and you gave it up. Here, then, is a godsend for you. NEWELL R. TRIPP has gone through THE DESCENT OF MAN and has summarized it for you. In simple, plain language he repeats all of Darwin's ideas, just as Darwin wrote them; but in a way which makes you understand them. And you can buy this book now for fifty cents!

Ever since ERNST HAECKEL issued his THE RIDDLE OF THE UNIVERSE, his name and his book have been a subject of conversation wherever educated and intelligent people get together. But what a big book is THE RIDDLE OF THE UNIVERSE! How hard to read, how difficult and scientific its language! Now VANCE RANDOLPH writes a complete summary. Just as they were written, he presents all of HAECKEL's ideas; but he gives them to you plainly, simply, clearly, so that you can understand them quickly. And now you can buy this book for fifty cents!

In this series of GREAT BOOKS MADE EASY there are others equally important for your self-education. THE HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE, that great provocative book by JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, which no intelligent man can afford to ignore, is summarized in clear and simple language by CHARLES T. SPRADING. That enormously important book, A HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND, which HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE wrote, is made easy for you by CLEMENT WOOD. And MR. WOOD also offers you a clear and comprehensive summary of one of the finest "deep" books ever put in print, LECKY'S HISTORY OF EUROPEAN MORALS.

EACH of these books costs only fifty cents! They are printed from new type, on good paper and bound in a fine quality cloth! More titles are coming. But you can get each one for only fifty cents, or all five for only $2.50! Send in your order now!

And, at the same time, ask yourself this question: How much do you *know* about Art, about Astronomy, about Biology, and Psychology, and History, and Physics? Will you pay fifty cents for a fine book which tells you, simply and clearly and comprehensively, all that you need to know about each of these subjects? Here is a series of outlines, written by experts, giving you a grasp upon each. Check over the list. Order the ones you are interested in now!

Check the books you want!

.....THE DESCENT OF MAN, *by Charles Darwin. Summarized by Newell R. Tripp.* 50c

.....THE RIDDLE OF THE UNIVERSE, *by Ernst Haeckel. Summarized by Vance Randolph.* 50c

.....HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND, *by Henry Thomas Buckle. Summarized by Clement Wood.* 50c

.....HISTORY OF EUROPEAN MORALS, *by W. E. H. Lecky. Summarized by Clement Wood.* 50c

.....HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE, *by John William Draper. Summarized by C.T. Sprading.* 50c

.....THE A B C OF ART, *by John Haldane Blackie.* 50c

.....THE A B C OF EVOLUTION, *by Vance Randolph.* 50c

.....THE A B C OF PSYCHOLOGY, *by Vance Randolph.* 50c

.....THE A B C OF ASTRONOMY, *by Jay L. B. Taylor.* 50c

.....THE A B C OF GEOLOGY, *by Allison Hardy.* 50c

.....THE A B C OF PHYSIOLOGY, *by Vance Randolph.* 50c

.....THE A B C OF BIOLOGY, *by Vance Randolph.* 50c

.....THE A B C OF CHEMISTRY, *by Newell R. Tripp.* 50c

.....THE A B C OF PHYSICS, *by Jay L. B. Taylor.* 50c

THE A B C OF HISTORY:

.....THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. *H. C. Thomas and W. A. Hamm.* 50c

.....CIVILIZATION IN TRANSITION (1789-1870). *H. C. Thomas and W. A. Hamm.* 50c

Send this coupon with remittance to

THE VANGUARD PRESS, 80 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

Include 5c for *each* book for postage

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discrepancy between the everyday life of Russians and the dreams of Russia's self-assigned rulers. But when it comes to depicting this life for the information of American readers, she shirks her job and substitutes for her own perception that of one Michael Sostchenko who describes his work as "a carnival of grotesque masks, written by one who sees life as a stupid joke." Sostchenko's vignettes may be true to life, but they are drawn to a different scale from the rest of Miss Thompson's narrative, and by their very intensity are, therefore, untrue.

Misleading for a different reason is her italicized statement that the "peasants . . . are brutally discriminated against in the composition of Soviet congresses." Their representation is, as she says, roughly one-fifth that of the town population, but they are 83 per cent of the total population. If they lack organized influence, it is because they lack organized interest in the life of the country. Their organization is effective enough when it comes to guarding their individual interests, as the government has cause to know. Again to say that the "peasant is materially worse off now than before" is not true. Any man sure of his roof, his job, and his food is not badly off in Russia today—or yesterday. Not only has the peasant got his land, as Miss Thompson admits, but he *cannot lose* it. He is, again according to her admission, eating more and better food. It is true he suffers temporarily under a system that refuses him an adequate return in manufactured goods for his agricultural products. But an explanation of the Gosplan, which Miss Thompson mentions only once in parenthesis, would have shown the reason for this. It is not due to any deliberate discrimination against the peasant. Miss Thompson should remember that before the war, according to a rough estimate, the amount of cotton available in Russia was not sufficient to give each peasant one handkerchief. The peasant, however, did not need a handkerchief until the Soviet began to educate him—much less a cream separator, which would have struck him as magic in the "good old days."

Where Miss Thompson makes her special contribution to the discussion of the Russian situation is in her analysis of Communist doctrine and its application to the everyday life not only of its devotees but of all Russians. Russian communism, as she sees it, is a new religion unapplied and even opposed to a knowledge of any god—unless, indeed, that god is Lenin.

"All," she declares, "which in communist Russia is vital and realistic, as opposed to what is arid and intellectual, arises from the Lenin faith."

In deifying Lenin, his followers have ascribed to him precisely those virtues which Christians consider the peculiar attributes of Christ, the man. A vow of poverty, obedience, self-sacrifice, and humility is exacted from those admitted to the Communist Party. Miss Thompson draws an analogy between its composition and that of a Catholic religious order. Miss Thompson is the daughter of an American Methodist minister, and I was educated by Catholic Irish nuns. Yet, on my return from Russia, I wrote in 1924 in the *Irish Statesman* that I believed there were more practical Communists in proportion to the population in Ireland than in Russia, because proportionately I think there are more men and women in monasteries and convents. Miss Thompson, while paying high tribute to the incorruptibility and devotion of Communist Party members, complains that they are the slaves of a "collective ubiquitous, inhuman system." The weakness of the new religion lies, indeed, in its lack of spiritual comfort for those with a special "vocation" and its lack of emotional appeal for those unaffected by the present revolutionary passion in Russia. Man does not live by intellectual bread alone, however excellent the bread may be, for he is an emotional before he is a rational being. To supply the lacking spiritual content of their doctrine for the masses, the Communists have resorted to a sort of apotheosis of Lenin. His picture supplants the icon in the honored corner of Communist household and meeting-hall. He will be ousted from his implied godship, his disciples declare, when his doctrine has been accepted on the earth. A strange reason for reduction to the ranks! Why he should be chosen for deification instead of Karl Marx Miss Thompson explains as follows: "Marxism is the conclusion of a brilliant, synthetic mind, drawing its knowledge of life and sweaty workmen from the British Museum. Leninism is the working faith of a primitive people."

And the founder of this faith, the new defender of the poor, is usually presented to his people as a workman, dressed in "baggy trousers and a cap, a quizzical expression in his eyes, an attitude keen and yet casual—hands carelessly thrust into pockets, but eyes concentrated, body at attention." This is the new "little father" of the Russian people, and under his aegis they are moving forward.

NORAH MEADE

Books in Brief

The Peacemakers of 1864. By Edward C. Kirkland. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

This book is a study of the attempts that were made in 1864, chiefly on the Union side, to arrange a peace between the North and the South. The Presidential campaign of that year was a good deal influenced, especially in the nomination of candidates, by the existence of a strong peace sentiment among the Democrats, but actual negotiation was mainly the work of Republicans. Horace Greeley and John Hay appear as accredited representatives of Lincoln in abortive interviews with some bogus Confederate spokesmen in Canada, and two other Northern emissaries sought out Jefferson Davis. What was left of this midsummer dream was apparently dissipated by the November election, but the Blair family, past masters of the politician's art, lent their weight to a revival of the peace project until the Hampton Roads conference wrote failure across the final chapter. There was never any sound reason for hoping that the peace efforts might succeed, but there was undoubtedly an increased desire for peace on both sides as the war went on, the difficulties of reconstruction and Negro status were beginning to be perceived, and political turmoil gave the politicians their opportunity. Mr. Kirkland brings a wealth of research to the unraveling of this interesting story of mystery and intrigue, and has made a book which is a real contribution to the history of the Civil War.

Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, 1844-1846. By Regis-Evariste Huc and Joseph Gabet. Translated by William Hezlitt. With an Introduction by Paul Pelliot. Harper and Brothers. Two volumes. $5.

Here at last is the full text of the Abbé Huc's story of his two-year journey across Mongolia to the Forbidden City of Shessa and back to Canton. The old woodcuts which brightened the edition published by Alfred Knopf last year are missing, but both volumes are here and there are no omissions, and Pelliot's introduction gives hints as to when to believe the Abbé and when not. His would be a remarkable journey today; it was still more remarkable eighty years ago, and the Abbé had eyes to see and a pen to picture what he saw. It is one of the great adventure-stories of Oriental travel.

The Paradoxes of Legal Science. By Benjamin N. Cardozo. Columbia University Press. $2.50.

Judge Cardozo sighs for logarithms which would give his juristic reasoning the certainty which the applied sciences claim with such iterated emphasis. He is too humble by half. Bridges and aqueducts built with five place logarithms have crumbled upon the heads of their builders and perfect equations on white paper or blue have not always meant complete certainty in concrete applications. But the most striking paradox of legal science is if the certainty he desires were attainable law would probably cease to exist. Law is a prediction of the result of specific processes. If the prediction could not be falsified by the event, there would be no need of making

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it. We should be living under the detestable sovereignty of Tropisms. Judge Cardozo views the One and the Many, Rest and Motion, Liberty and Rule, with a certain melancholy doubt whether these ancient antinomies can really be reconciled by the judicial processes he administers with such eminent distinction and ability, but he leaves us in no doubt that in his mind legal science is primarily concerned with this reconciliation. And he makes it further clear that as between the opposing claims of ensconced power and crying need the reconciliation is to be sought, not in a mathematical mean between two extremes but in a path deflected, however unscientifically, by the force of non-calculable human interests.

Hanging Johnny. By Myrtle Johnson. D. Appleton and Company. $2.

A naive and wise girl has written a tale of a whimsical, superstitious, and charming character whose occupation is that of hangman in Dublin. This is indeed a charming novel of Irish life with the lilt of Irish humor and laughter, mingled with the dour superstition and despair of poverty. Hanging Johnny hanged his best friend and was plagued by remorse and conscience into marriage with a stalwart lass of practical nature who could not understand his poetry of soul nor his remorse.

The Wars of the Godly. By Reuben Maury. Robert M. McBride and Company. $3.50.

In this book, which is another one of those obviously inspired by the politics of this Presidential year of grace, is related part of the story of religious intolerance in America from Colonial times to the rise of the Klan. The myth of complete American religious liberty since the patristic period is one which is widely believed. The present work will illumine somewhat the prevailing ignorance, but as the first general work upon the subject it leaves a very great deal to be desired. It is confessedly partial in its scope, and anecdotal in its method, and confined practically to attacks upon Irish Catholics. The other Christian sects and the Jews particularly are hardly mentioned, although anti-Semitism has existed in this country in the past. A few Catholic church histories have been the author's main sources. A book such as this would have profited greatly by a more systematic exposition especially of the constitutional theory of religious freedom. The apparent haste in which the book has been compiled, however, prevented this. In other words, its faults are typical of the occasional volume. Its worst one, however, is peculiarly this author's own. He has seen fit to write this history of religious intolerance in a breezy and snickering manner which is all but intolerable. He reveals his mental immaturity by mistaking boorishness and vulgarity for wit and humor. He confesses in the introduction that he was at one time a member of the Klan.

How We Got Our Liberties. By Lucius B. Swift. Bobbs-Merrill and Company. $2.50.

The author of this book, an Indianapolis lawyer, has set out to relate those events in Anglo-American history which are supposed to have given us our present political and religious liberty. We hear again the stirring stories of Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, the Declaration of Independence, in a manner which is refreshing. The author has no skepticism and takes superficial political events at their full value, eschewing entirely the heresies of economic and social determinism. His account of the American constitutional convention is motivated entirely by a lofty altruism, and he quotes several times Gladstone's dictum to the effect that the American Constitution is the greatest instrument ever struck off by the brain and purpose of man. Here, in short, is one of those naive and almost mythological Americans who still believe that the Bill of Rights and the Constitution are respected. He deserves to be encouraged, and his book, which is apparently one of the "story" books intended for the general public, may

GOING - - GOING - -
LAST CALL
Special Oct. 20th Sailing
—arriving in time to attend the
Eleventh Anniversary Celebration
of the
RUSSIAN · REVOLUTION
in
Moscow, November 7th
A gala event of unsurpassed magnificence and splendor! Where the U.S.S.R. "carries on" in all its glory!
For this special tour. . . . All expenses included. Visas assured. $350 UP
WRITE, PHONE OR CALL FOR LITERATURE
AMERICAN-EUROPEAN TRAVEL BUREAU
Representative of Official Russian Travel Bureau
100 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. C.
CHELsea 5124-4477

Do You Really Know
What Happens
WHEN YOU DIE?
HAVE YOU LOVED ONES WHO HAVE GONE BEYOND?
Do you know what Science has Actually Discovered of the Spiritual World?
Here is a book with a wonderful message for you because it tells what has REALLY been demonstrated concerning LIFE beyond "physical death."
"THE GREAT KNOWN"
By J. E. Richardson, TK (Harmonic Series)
A book of vital interest to YOU if you are seeking FACTS about the Life to Come—if you have loved ones who have passed beyond. 33 Chapters, including fascinating, up-to-date, reliable information on such matters as: WHEN DEATH BEGINS and ENDS—is it DEATH or SUSPENDED ANIMATION? SOUL and SEX in the Spiritual World; Psychic Effects of SUICIDE; Spiritual Communication; Spiritual Penalties; Spiritual Education; Spiritual Wars; Dreams and Prophecies; CREMATION; HELL and many other KNOWN and PROVEN FACTS. 384 pages; 5½ x 8¼ inches; cloth bound; gold die stamped.
Examine It Free
Mail Coupon; the book will be sent at once. Read it 5 days. If you find it vitally interesting and inspiring, send only $3. Otherwise return the book. Use Coupon RIGHT NOW.
Pioneer Press, Publishers, Dept. 23-W, Hollywood, Cal.
Please send me a copy of "THE GREAT KNOWN," by J. E. Richardson, TK, on approval. I agree to send $3 or return the book in 5 days.
Name .....
Address .....
City and State .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Frontiersman and idealist,

George Rogers Clark has been the hero of fact and of fiction. Now James A. James, lifelong student of midwestern history, has—as William E. Dodd says—"put the last and best stone in the structure" recording his achievements. GEORGE ROGERS CLARK. **$5.00**

What is our "Mexican situation"?

Wouldn't you take an hour to find out? In *Mexico* three men speak with authority, with sincerity, and from totally different points of view—José Vasconcelos, Mexican patriot; J. Fred Rippy, critical historian; Guy Stevens, lawyer and representative of the foreign investor. Ranged together, their fearless opinions take on an extraordinary significance. MEXICO: American Policies Abroad. **$1.50**

The "rediscovery of childhood"

is going on in countless homes. Here is workable, intelligent advice for the better understanding of your own children from men and women who have given their minds and their energies to solving the problems of many children. BUILDING CHARACTER. A Symposium. Paper $1.00. Cloth **$2.00**

Looking at the nominating system

of this country over a period of twenty years, C. E. Merriam finds many interesting experiments, changes, developments. In his new book, with Professor Louise Overacker, he analyzes them and presents a constructive, suggestive program of nominating development. PRIMARY ELECTIONS. **$3.00**

"The Wealth of Nations"

has been commemorated by a series of lectures delivered at the University of Chicago by John Maurice Clark, Paul H. Douglas, Jacob H. Hollander, Glenn R. Morrow, Melchior Palyi, and Jacob Viner. ADAM SMITH, 1776-1926. **$3.00**

The heart of the Middle Ages

is here revealed in James Westfall Thompson's account of the dramatic struggle between the Papacy and the Medieval Empire. FEUDAL GERMANY. **$5.00**

The University of Chicago Press
5807 Ellis Avenue **Chicago**

perhaps serve a useful purpose as a civics primer in the high schools. Perhaps some day he will undertake a sequel: "How We Lost Our Liberties."

Saint Louis. Par Georges Goyau, de l'Académie Française. Paris: Librairie Plon.

There have been many lives of Louis IX, but this is one of the best. Readable, judicious, authoritative, the only serious criticism which could be brought against it might emanate from the liberal who objected to its extreme orthodox, ultramontane animus. Georges Goyau sees clearly, and he makes his readers see clearly, that Louis was not only a good man but a great one, with certain definite contributions to civilization to his credit, namely, a keen consciousness of the rights of the lower orders, the discovery that peaceful persuasion may accomplish something with non-Christian nations (here was the beginning of modern Christian missions), and the conviction that nations cannot get on except by mutual concessions, from the strong to the weak as well as conversely.

Contemporary Economic Thought. By Paul T. Homan. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

This is an informing and illuminating book which endeavors to present contemporary economic theory by means of a detailed analysis of the doctrines of certain representative writers instead of through an encyclopedic bibliographical summary of all leading present-day contributors to the field. Professor Homan selects for his purpose John Bates Clark, Thorstein Veblen, Alfred Marshall, John Atkinson Hobson, and Wesley Clair Mitchell. John Bates Clark is presented as the foremost American exponent of the view of economics as an exercise in precise dialectic. Alfred Marshall is expounded as the greatest of the Neo-classicists, attempting to adapt the older Ricardian analysis to the changing facts of the economic environment and the chastening influence of the quantitative method. Veblen is set out as the great critic of economics as pecuniary logic, and as the founder in America of institutional economics, based upon evolutionary and pragmatic philosophy. Hobson is the great English critic of respectable classicism and Neo-classicism, and the leader of what may be called "welfare economics." Mitchell is held to be representative of the contemporary trend in America toward institutianalism, synthesis, and the ever greater use of the quantitative method. The chief impression gained from a perusal of the book is that of the triumph of institutionalism and the quantitative method over arid and unreal dialectic, and the substitution of a realistic psychology for the hedonistic metaphysic of Jeremy Bentham's felicific calculus. The book is clearly and interestingly written and is free from dogmatism and partisanship. It is not only a valuable contribution to economic theory in particular, but is equally significant as an addition to the current discussion of the social sciences and their interrelation in general. As a contribution to the history of economic theory it is as novel and commendable as the writings of Veblen and Hobson in the field of economic theory.

Art and Germany. North German Lloyd Steamship Company.

A collection of brief essays by various authors intended as a guide to travelers in their adventures among the art treasures of Germany. Though it is in no sense a Baedeker with exact address and hours of admission, the book is full of useful and suggestive information authoritatively presented. The essays treat of art in its widest ramifications: primitive, peasant, and academic art, interior decoration, architecture, and city planning—in brief, every phase of art old and new, pure and applied, comprising even art education and a cinema experiment on the manual workmanship among artists. Making due allowance for a certain excess of superlatives and a metaphysical generalization on the special nature of the German spirit, the book may be recommended as answering fully the purpose intended.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Mexican Side of the Texan Revolution. By the Chief Mexican Participants (General Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, D. Ramon Martinez Caro, General Vincente Filisola, General Jose Urrea, General Jose Maria Tornel). Translated with Notes by Carlos E. Castaneda. P. L. Turner Company. $5.

A book of general interest chiefly because of the light its documents throw on our whole past and present relations with Mexico. It contains not only Santa Anna's defense of his ill-fated Texas campaign, together with counter-charges by his secretary and leading generals and an endless attempt to shift the responsibility for the massacre of Fannin and his men at Goliad; it offers also a vigorous and rather prophetic analysis of the part which the United States Government played in the Texan Revolution. This is the work of General Tornel, written at the time he was Secretary of War, and showing with unmistakable clearness the feeling which the patriots of Mexico and Latin America had toward our policy of expansion as early as 1830. It suffices that the general's prophecies turned out to a letter. The book should make a nice text for schools and colleges in the Lone Star State and a splendid antidote for George Creel's biography of Sam Houston. It is well supplied with index and maps.

The Constitutional Jurisprudence of the German Republic. By Johannes Mattern. Johns Hopkins Press. $5.

An explanation of a system based upon the juristic conception of the state, likely to become standard in its field. It deals with general principles rather than with fundamentals, and is supplemented by an impressive bibliography.

Drama

Murder With Music

PHILLIP DUNNING'S "Night Hostess" (Martin Beck Theater) follows the formula of the same author's "Broadway" as closely as decency permits and seems to have been written on the doubtless quite justified assumption that what "knocked 'em cold" the first time is pretty sure to awaken a profitable (even if less tumultuous) enthusiasm the second. On this occasion the author has moved his scene from the back room of a night club to the reception hall of a similar institution, but the ingenuity required to conceive that variation seems to have pretty well exhausted his imagination and the rest of his play is made up of the same melodramatic incidents recounted in the same jazz rhythm which in the former piece, delighted all the childish hearts of two continents and helped convince the European producers that though we may be a little silly on the subject of Eugene O'Neill America is, nevertheless, the real hope of the modern drama.

The new comedy has no bit of bravura quite equal to those recurrent scenes in "Broadway" where members of the chorus, mechanically detaching themselves from the excited group in the green room, danced out the door to the waiting audience, but every effort is made to obtain the same effect. While the stage is given over to various sinister intrigues, the doors leading into the bar and the gambling room are thrown open at appropriate moments so that the raucous gaiety of the customers may throw the desperate deeds of the chief characters into violent relief and the main requirements of Mr. Dunnings's formula—murder with music—may be fulfilled. In "Broadway" the not-too-good girl shot the villain while the last strains of the jazz were still echoing in the ears of the audience; in "Night Hostess" the villain dispatches the not-too-good girl with a napkin on the very spot which the revellers have recently quitted, and you may make your Hobson's choice between the two with full con-

PLAYS CONCERTS

EMPIRE Theatre, B'way, 40 St. Eves., 8:30. Matinees WED. & SAT., 2:30.
"Wise, Witty, Wicked Comedy" —N. Y. American
HEAVY TRAFFIC
A New Comedy by Arthur Richman with
MARY BOLAND
A. E. MATTHEWS REGINALD MASON

25th ANNIVERSARY FAREWELL SEASON
OF THE FAMOUS
FLONZALEY QUARTET
TOWN HALL
Nov. 13 Jan. 15 Feb. 26
Tuesday Eves. at 8:30
Subscription Prices: $6, $5, $4, $2.50
Mail orders
Management: LOUDON CHARLTON
CARNEGIE HALL

BOOKS

PHILOSOPHY FOR THE LAYMAN Series
An Important Book for Everybody
The NEW MORALITY
By Durant Drake

THE old morality, founded on tradition and respect for authority, is being reformed in the social crucible by a scientific, experimental attitude toward morals. Where is the jazz age going? How may those entrusted with the guidance of youth help to contrive a new morality, new codes of conduct which are consonant with the spirit of a world moving rapidly from old standards? Durant Drake discusses, in a detached and enlightened manner, the many problems of personal and group conduct that are now perplexing thoughtful men and women. This first volume in the new *Philosophy for the Layman Series* is a very human and readable survey for all those who are working toward a new moral thoughtfulness and a better technique for securing the common good.

At all bookstores— $2.50
The Macmillan Company New York

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fidence that you will get your money's worth in either. The inexhaustible fascination of Sin in Evening Dress was first thoroughly exploited by the movies, but the stage still knows how to turn a trick now and then and no one before Mr. Dunning ever succeeded so completely in showing how the background afforded by a Gilded Palace of Sin could be combined with the ageless thrills of the ten-twenty-thirty to form what innocent Broadwayites call a real novelty.

The villain and the not-too-good girl (sound at heart though unfortunately strayed) are permitted by the defects of their character a sufficient latitude of conduct to furnish the thrills, but there must also be an ingenue to introduce the note of simple sentiment and in this play the author allows her to be loved by a nice boy who happens to be a vaudeville pianist instead, as in the former one, an ambitious "hoofer." Now these sweet heroines are, it seems, the real chef d'oeuvres of this kind of drama, and they most certainly bear witness to the fact that the populace has not lost faith in human nature, for they are characterized not only by a virginal purity but by an innocence of the world which would be remarkable in anybody, let alone in one following the profession of what is euphemistically called a "hostess" in a night club.

In the older literature, disillusioned men used to go to the country in search of uncorrupted girls; a character in Wycherly's "Country Wife" betook himself to Wales and was disastrously unsuccessful even there; but one would judge from the present and similar plays that the New Yorker need go no further than the nearest speakeasy on any evening after twelve o'clock. Apparently the question so often asked by critics of our society—"Whither has Innocence flown?"—is answered at last. In this age of flaming youth and dancing mothers our daughters grow disconcertingly knowing even in the most sheltered drawing room of the selectest boarding school, but guilelessness, modesty, and that old fashioned self-respect which refused to cheapen itself by permitting unlicensed familiarities has found refuge in the night club.

Doubtless stranger things have happened. We have it on good Latin authority that not even the wolves will touch the man who is armored with virtue, and perhaps that will hold for women too. And yet, much as one dislikes to confront the optimism of the playwright with a cynical skepticism, one wonders just how a girl may nightly entice suckers to a gambling hell without losing a little of the delicate bloom of innocence. Just how, one asks, does she get her victims and just how does she hold them? Nor is the question impertinent since night clubs, like other business institutions, exist through the sufferance of satisfied customers. Is it possible that the ingenues whom they employ charm their patrons because they remind an old roue of his sister or do they, perhaps, like the professional corespondent in one of Maughan's comedies, know a lot of delightful card tricks by the aid of which a night may be pleasantly whiled away? "This," says one of the characters of the present day in the penultimate line of the piece, "is a *hell* of a town." It is indeed.

Frederic Lonsdale's "The High Road" (Fulton Theater) shows signs of becoming a success. The form is smart English comedy rather plentifully larded with good old-fashioned hokum of the American sort. There is a charming young actress who teaches an aristocratic family (into which she is about to marry) that social distinctions do not count where love is concerned, and much is made of a scene in which a pompous old nobleman is convinced of the virtue in American cocktails. This latter seemed to please the audience greatly but to me it was strongly reminiscent of the stock scene in which Aunt Mary, come disapprovingly to the city, takes one drink and decides to bob her hair. Two musical comedies—"Luckee Girl" at the Casino and "Cross My Heart" at the Knickerbocker—follow closely the models of their kind. The former has a new team of precision dancers who are well trained and a fat comedian named Billy House who is sometimes amusing.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Announcement

ON Wednesday evening, October 3, at 8:20, Dr. H. W. L. Dana will give the first lecture in his course on Literature 1918-28 at the New School for Social Research.

Dr. Dana has spent the last year in Europe and Russia studying the literary outlook in each country and meeting the great writers.

Dr. Dana was one of the speakers at the Tolstoi Centenary, celebrated last week at Moscow. Among other speakers listed on the program were Bernard Shaw, Romain Rolland, D'Annunzio, Knut Hamsun and Gorki.

Dr. Dana will bring to the New School a remarkable wealth of fresh and important material on current movements in European literature.

Tuition for the course of eighteen lectures, $20.

Catalogue, listing thirty courses, sent upon request.

465 West 23d St. New York City

THE WORKERS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE
Announces
TWO COURSES OF LECTURES
by HARRY WATON
October to June, 1929

I. A COURSE ON UNIVERSAL LITERATURE
Destiny *speaks* through *literature* as it *functions* through *history*. This course will teach how to interpret literature and to enjoy its beauties.
FRIDAYS 8 to 10 P. M. SINGLE LECTURE 50 CENTS

II. A COURSE ON UNIVERSAL HISTORY
In this course will be shown how destiny functions through history in one, continuous, rational, predetermined process.
SUNDAYS 3 TO 5 P. M. SINGLE LECTURE 50 CENTS

MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL
(LECTURE ROOM)
LEXINGTON AVE., COR. 22ND STREET
Free Introductory Lecture, Sunday, September 30, 1928.

PLAYWRITING COURSE

SELL YOUR PLAY!
Give it the form, action, dialogue, characterization, and business you have wanted for it. Take the

CHARLTON ANDREWS COURSE IN PLAYWRITING

A thorough and practical study in the art of writing for the theatre, by the author of "The Torches," "Ladies' Night," "Bluebeard's Eighth Wife," and the universally used text-book, "The Technique of Playwriting."

COURSE BEGINS OCTOBER 1ST

Term 12 weeks; every Monday Evening from 8 to 10:30; every Thursday Afternoon from 4 to 6:30. Fee $50—payable in convenient instalments. *Enroll NOW.* Write, telephone or call in person.

JOHN MURRAY ANDERSON — ROBERT MILTON
SCHOOL OF THE THEATRE
AND DANCE

128 East 58th St., New York

Telephone Plaza 4524-4525

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

Hindu Farmers at Bay

By N. B. PARULEKAR

EIGHTY thousand farmers in Bardoli—men, women, and children—are facing unarmed the machine-guns, tanks, and airplane bombers of the British Government.

What is happening in Bardoli, and what is repeating itself in other parts of India, is this: A military-ridden government (60 per cent of India's income goes to feed the army directly or indirectly) is trying to increase its revenue to meet growing expenditure. India, being poor, the Government cannot expect to raise this revenue from a general rise in the income tax nor from a tariff increase, as it would hinder the flow of the British-made goods into India. Besides, to encourage industrial development of the country is to invite the same danger by another door. Farmers are the only class of the population that are subjected to heavy taxation. And they have borne the burden meekly so far. The Indian farmer represents 80 per cent of the population, lives in far-off villages where Government agents penetrate twice a year to collect land revenue, withdrawing themselves for the rest of the year to enrich the few cities they live in and use as centers of export and import. The farmer gets little benefit from a Government of which he has become willingly or unwillingly the principal feeder.

From an intended increase of 30 per cent land revenue in Bardoli, the officers of the state came down to 29 per cent and finally made up their mind to collect a 20 per cent increase at the point of the bayonet if necessary. The farmers protested, sent deputations, and urged upon the Government to submit the whole assessment to the judgment of an impartial committee. The Government, of course, is not prepared to surrender the divine right to tax the farmer according to official discretion. In India land-revenue settlement is kept out of ordinary legislation as a matter for purely executive will. The Bardoli farmers refused to pay without arbitration, and the war of peace started against the war of force.

Confiscation of lands and attachment of movable property followed. There are 130 villages in Bardoli with 126,000 acres of arable land. Forty Pathans—an alien element known for its underworld activity in Bombay—were imported by the Government to frighten the people and harass them into submission. Bullocks and buffaloes were attached, beaten, and tortured to incite the peasant, to whom agricultural animals are part of his family. The farmers remained unmoved. Furniture and grain bags were appropriated only to be left where they were, because no porter would lift his finger to remove them to the government storehouse. Carts were attached either to be abandoned or to be driven by the officials themselves. No driver could be had to do it.

The "japti" officers, i.e., the government men intrusted with the task of confiscating property, have to walk miles before they can get a shave. Their automobiles would remain buried in bad roads but for the generosity of Vallabhbhai Patel, the leader of the Satyagrhaha (passive resistance) movement. The Collector of the District, the highest and all-powerful official, cannot get even a conveyance from the station except by permission of Mr. Patel.

The Government is doing its level best to break the backbone of the farmer. It is blowing away the farmer's property as so much sawdust. A buffalo worth 150 rupees and a young buffalo calf worth 60 rupees are sold by the Government for four and a half rupees. For a total assessment of about 700 rupees one man has had lands of the value of between 30,000 to 40,000 rupees forfeited. Another lot of 33 acres worth more than 15,000 rupees was sold for 161 rupees. As if this was not enough, the man's cooking utensils were attached, his pair of horses was sold for a nominal sum, and his nephew is being criminally prosecuted for an alleged false declaration. Cotton worth 250 rupees was sold for 21 rupees. For failure to pay 300 rupees Dorabji, the Parsi saloonkeeper, had liquor worth 2,000 rupees attached and his saloon closed, and yet a balance was shown, for which his lands worth 30,000 rupees are forfeited.

The Government has dispatched armed police, regular army divisions—tanks, airplane bombers, and other engines of war—to occupy every inch of this territory so that the farmers may not be able to till the soil nor sow the crops and the confiscated lands shall remain under the possession of the Government in reality and not merely in name. On the other hand, the farmers have decided to keep working on their lands as if there was no Government, and 80,000 men, women, and children are waiting for as many officers of law to arrest them and lead them into jails. The Government is faced with the dilemma either to shoot these agriculturists as outlaws or prosecute them in the courts of law with all severity, in which case instead of collecting the revenue it will have to spend large sums to feed these people in jail! And all this for a paltry sum of 100,000 rupees, which is but a straw to the Government, though to the farmers it is the straw that breaks their back.

At the head of this movement are men recognized to be among the best and the noblest in India. There is, of course, Mahatma Gandhi, whose spirit is pervading the whole affair, though he himself is living in his hermitage on the banks of Sabarmati. The next man and the man on the spot is Vallabhbhai Patel, the former mayor of Bombay and Ahmedbad, whose services were not long ago praised so highly by the Government in organizing relief work during the recent floods in Gujrath. The farmers have faith in him as one who has shared their sufferings in their worst days. His brother, Vithalbhai Patel, is the president of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi. He sends 1,000 rupees a month from his salary to the cause—an example of how government money is used to fight the Government itself.

Last but not least are those young college men, "Gandhiwallas," or the workers of Gandhi, as they are known among the farmers. They are volunteers. Two hundred and fifty of them are scattered in different camps throughout the affected area supplying the farmers with the necessary means of organization. They run a publicity department which puts out 13,000 leaflets a day and distribute them free. They manage "thanas," or offices to parallel government offices, serve as watchers to match

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the official detectives, run errands, serve the sick and the old, and so on. These youngsters under the guidance of their leaders have organized themselves into as many parallel departments as the Government generally has, except of course the police, which the peasants do not require. There has not been one single case of crime reported during the last four months of agitation. Thus there is coming into existence a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, beside which the old Government looks like an impostor, helpless with all its military power.

The amount of moral energy brought forth during this movement is stupendous. For over four months the farmers have been marooned in their houses, their cattle gone, their lands laid waste. They refuse to resort to violence, or to succumb to any temptation of promotion or fear of complete ruin. They have declined so far to receive any pecuniary help from other parts of India, the only money collected being used for the purpose of organization and education. The young volunteers are subjected to mock trials, and sentenced to hard labor of six months or more. They decline to pay fines and cheerfully accept imprisonment. They are "framed up" for "rioting and obstruction." The watchers are prosecuted as "ruffians and suspects loitering near public places to cause mischief and worse." Many of them are led "handcuffed and roped in pairs." Yet no violence, no abuse, not even a sigh of sorrow either from them or from their relatives.

Students in schools deny themselves butter and milk for days, go out to do manual work, and send in money thus saved and earned in the sweat of their labor. When over 100,000 textile workers in Bombay are on strike and need every succor, their comrades from Ahmedabad are sending money to the farmers' cause out of their meager wages. The majority of the revenue collectors, village headmen, and other village officers have resigned, leaving in some cases twenty years' service behind rather than aid the Government in its attempts of coercion.

Bardoli is not the first of its kind. India has been resorting to this method for the last fourteen years in attempts at redressing wrongs in political, social, and other departments of human intercourse. Mahatma Gandhi insists that all such experiments point to the one conclusion, that civil power is greater than military and that cooperation is the only element on which any organization, even the most autocratic, can stand. You deny this cooperation and the whole social fabric lays itself open for a new adjustment. This is nothing short of a revolution, except that the process is rendered harmless by keeping it strictly within the bounds of non-violence. The opponents may take to force, but they are bound to find it futile.

Contributors to This Issue

DOROTHY VAN DOREN, associate editor of *The Nation*, is the author of three novels: "Strangers," "Flowering Quince," and "Brother and Brother," the latter published this autumn.

EDGAR J. KATES is a consulting engineer.

LEE SIMONSON is the editor of *Creative Art*.

WILLIAM SEAGLE is co-a thor with Morris L. Ernst of "To the Pure," to be published this autumn.

KEITH HUTCHISON is an English journalist.

NORAH MEADE is a student of Russian affairs.

N. B. PARULEKAR is a Hindu.

ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER CLASSES

Teachers Institute—Jewish Theological Seminary

An Opportunity
FOR JEWISH YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN
To Become Acquainted More
Intimately and More Intelligently
with

JEWISH HISTORY: *Biblical, Post Biblical, Modern*
JEWISH LITERATURE: *Biblical, Post Biblical*
HEBREW: *Elementary and Advanced*
RELIGION: *Customs and Ceremonies, Ethical Teachings*
OTHER SUBJECTS: *(If there are sufficient applicants to form a class)*

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO TEACH IN JEWISH SUNDAY SCHOOLS AND LEAD CLUBS IN JEWISH INSTITUTIONS

Classes are arranged in various sections of the city and according to the needs of the students.

REGISTRATION NOW GOING ON

For further information apply at the Central Office
34 Stuyvesant Street Telephone, Algonquin 0586

NEXT WEEK
The Nation's
Fall Book Number
MORRIS ERNST and WILLIAM SEAGLE
The Literary Critic as Censor
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
Remy de Gourmont
ALEXANDER BAKSHY
The Future of the Movies
S. K. RATCLIFFE
Asquith and Allied Aims
WILLIAM MACDONALD
Beveridge's Life of Lincoln
Selected List of Fall Books

TEACHERS of the DANCE
With thorough technical equipment and teaching experience in modern physical education and dance composition, available for
Elementary Schools, Colleges, Dramatic Schools, and Settlements
THE STRAUSS SCHOOL OF THE DANCE
Sara Mildred Strauss, *director*
Studio 825, Carnegie Hall Circle 1350

THE MYTH OF ADAM AND EVE **By Paul Lafargue**
The Genesis story studied in the light of modern anthropology. Brilliant, fascinating, suggestive. 25 cents, postpaid.
Charles H. Kerr & Co., 347 East Ohio St., Chicago

This advertiser had an apartment to rent. . . . "My apartment advertised in *The Nation* was rented the day the magazine appeared on the stands."

When writing to advertisers please mention The Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED